

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY
FREDERICK & EMMELINE
PETHICK LAWRENCE



DEDICATION

TO THE BRAVE WOMEN WHO TO-DAY
ARE FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM: TO THE
NOBLE WOMEN WHO ALL DOWN THE
AGES KEPT THE FLAG FLYING, AND
LOOKED FORWARD TO THIS DAY WITH-
OUT SEEING IT: TO ALL WOMEN
ALL OVER THE WORLD, OF WHATEVER
RACE, OR CREED, OR CALLING,
WHETHER THEY BE WITH US OR
AGAINST US IN THIS FIGHT
WE DEDICATE THIS PAPER

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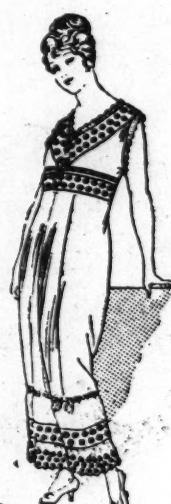
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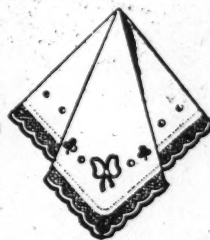


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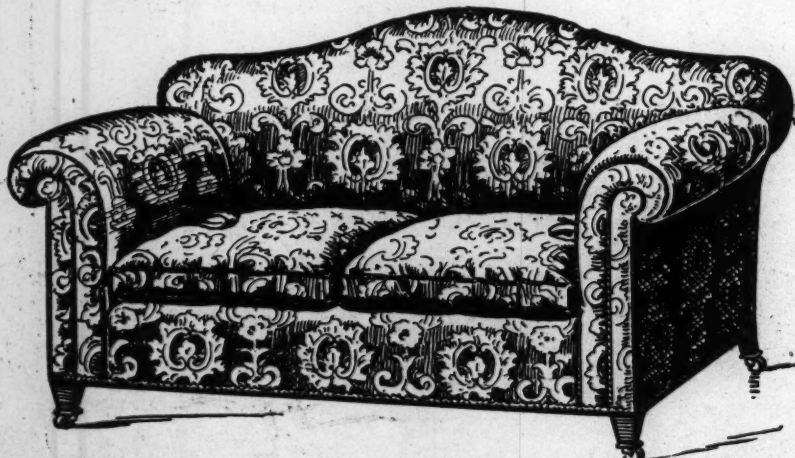
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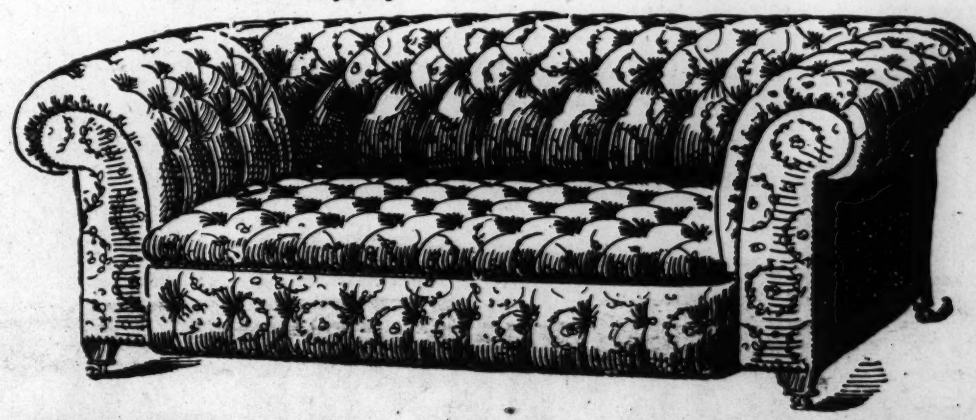
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THE OUTLOOK

As this paper is likely to fall into the hands of many men and women who have not read any previous issues, we propose to state at the outset certain cardinal facts with regard to the woman's movement as a whole, and of this paper's relationship to it.

The Meaning of the Woman's Movement

The woman's movement exists for the purpose of uplifting women and of removing the barriers which from time immemorial have hindered their development. The movement is not directed in any sense against men, nor is it correctly described as *feminist*, for it is not concerned to obtain privileges for women, but to remove the artificial disadvantages under which they at present labour. The movement is supported by both men and women, who see in the emancipation of women the progress and ennoblement of the race.

The Importance of the Vote

In those countries in which the Parliamentary franchise is exclusively male, the woman's movement places in the forefront of its programme the removal of the sex barrier to voting rights. That is so because the vote is the key by which all other reforms can be obtained. So long as women are without this key legislators and administrators can afford to ignore them. But when they possess it they can use it to win freedom of life, freedom of service, and the betterment of conditions for men, for women, and for children.

Where All Suffragists are United

The demand which all suffragists are making is that sex shall cease to be a factor necessary for qualifying for a vote. "The same franchise laws which apply to men must apply also to women," they say. At present, about 7½ million men have the vote in this country, and if this principle were adopted about 1½ million women would get it also. The unity of this common demand is not altered by the fact that certain bodies of suffragists—notably the women Liberals and the East London Federation of Suffragettes which recently interviewed Mr. Asquith—desire at the same time to see other changes extending the franchise. The essential feature of the common demand is equality, not of numbers, but of qualification.

Demand for a Government Measure

Suffragists are also all united in demanding a Government measure. They have learnt by experience that a Private Member's Bill will always be blocked, and that it is only when the Government itself proposes a reform of the franchise that it will be carried through. The character of a Bill introduced by different Governments would no doubt be different, but woman suffragists as such will be concerned simply to see whether the principle of equality of qualification is carried out. If some women are given the vote, but the sex disqualification is not itself removed, they will regard the Bill merely as an instalment of reform.

Where Suffragists Differ

The suffrage movement being universal naturally embraces men and women of widely different temperaments, and in consequence suffragists are divided into many diverse societies according to their views as to tactics. At one end there is the National Union of Suffrage Societies, which not only eschews all forms of militancy and lawbreaking itself, but is at pains to denounce these tactics whenever they are practised by others. At the other end is the Women's Social and Political Union, which openly advocates the destruction of property and other revolutionary action short of the taking of human life. In between these two extremes are many organisations who support

various forms of militant as distinct from criminal activity, and who, while refraining from attacking other suffragists, place the blame for the present situation on the shoulders of the Government.

Our Point of View

This paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, whilst not advocating the methods at present adopted by the W.S.P.U., at the same time recognises the sterling heroism of the women who, at sacrifice of liberty and of health, and at grave peril of life, are fighting the battle in the way that they believe to be right. We see clearly that women, well-educated and peace-loving, would never have taken to these revolutionary courses but for the obstinacy and trickery of the Government, combined with the brutal violence practised on women who were guilty of nothing but technical offences against the law.

The Need of Militancy

But we go further, and we say that, viewing the whole history of the question, it is evident that merely law-abiding and gentle methods would never have succeeded in forcing this question upon the attention of politicians; and that even now if all those methods which have been at various times denounced as "militant"—including deputations to the King and his Ministers, "protests" at meetings addressed by members of the Cabinet, tax resistance, vigorous anti-Government policy at by-elections, and many others—were abandoned, politicians would contrive once again to ignore it.

The Trickery of Politicians

Space does not allow of anything like a detailed account of the events which have led us to this conclusion, but our readers are reminded of the Conciliation Bill which was introduced into the House of Commons in a time of truce, and was twice approved by an immense majority of M.P.'s drawn from all parties. Yet this Bill was deliberately blocked on both occasions by the Government, and a promise for a third session on which suffragists had relied was ruthlessly "torpedoed" by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George. This was followed by a further breach of faith when the Government's own Electoral Reform Bill, contrary to express promise, was not drafted so as to be capable of amendment to include women, and no genuine substitute was ever given.

The Working Women's Deputation

Even the past week has provided a fresh illustration how drastic action is still often the only means to secure from the Government the barest courtesy to women. The deputation of working women from the East of London, which waited on Mr. Asquith on Saturday last, had already made two attempts to obtain an interview with him, only to be met by a definite refusal. It was not till Miss Sylvia Pankhurst had threatened to carry her hunger strike to a final conclusion at the door of the House of Commons, and was proceeding to put her threat into operation, that Mr. Asquith gave way. Yet even this tardy concession must be regarded as a sign of grace which should make it easier for Mr. Asquith to give way on the larger issue.

Mr. Asquith's Reply

A full description of the deputation itself will be found on page 594. Mrs. Scurr, in a cogent speech, covered the whole ground of the need of working women for the protection of the franchise, and the other speakers illustrated it from the poignant experience of their own lives. Mr. Asquith made no attempt to answer their arguments, but contented himself with repeating the case that they had put, and adding:—

I have always said that if you are going to give the franchise to women, give it to them on the same terms as you do to men. Make it a democratic measure. It is no good paltering with it. If the discrimination of sex is not sufficient to justify the giving of the vote to one sex and the withholding of it from another, it follows a fortiori that the discrimination of sex does not justify and cannot warrant giving to women a restricted form of franchise while you give to men an unrestricted form of franchise. If the change has got to come we must face it boldly and make it thoroughly democratic in its basis.

These words are somewhat ambiguous. On the face of them they contain nothing but what all the women suffrage societies would agree to. But from their context we gather that Mr. Asquith would like to see woman suffrage, if it is to come at all, carried as part of a large measure in which other restrictions of the franchise are abolished simultaneously.

What We Think

The time was when this attempt to drive a wedge through the woman suffrage ranks would have been a serious matter, but to-day it is comparatively un-

important, for, as we have already pointed out, all suffrage societies now agree that it is for the Government itself to bring in a Bill to enfranchise women. If the Government of the day choose to include other alterations in the franchise law at the same time that will not matter to the suffrage societies whose sole concern will be to see that the disqualification of sex is completely removed, and that the Government are prepared to regard this as an essential part of the measure. But the Government must speak with one voice on the matter, they must not use their differences of opinion on the form which women's enfranchisement should take as a reason for withholding the vote from women altogether.

Repeated Imprisonment of Sylvia Pankhurst

Apart from the main issue, the deputation was of value in bringing home to Mr. Asquith, and also to the public, the shocking travesty of justice involved in Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's nine-fold imprisonment. Months ago she was sent to prison, not on account of the arson campaign of the W.S.P.U., with which she has no connection, but on account of her refusal to find sureties at the order of a magistrate for some alleged incitement in one of her speeches. Released as the result of the hunger strike, she has been eight times rearrested under the Cat and Mouse Act, while Mr. Lansbury, identically situated, has never suffered rearrest. Mr. Asquith promised to discuss the matter with Mr. McKenna, and we hope that his intervention will secure the unconditional release of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, and also of Mrs. Walker, the wife of a docker, who is also in prison for refusing to find sureties.

Lynch Law

The papers report with apparent satisfaction the application of lynch law to suffragists who raised their voices at Mr. Lloyd George's meeting at Denmark Hill in protest against his attitude on the woman suffrage question. We read that several women were savagely attacked, and that a clergyman, the Rev. C. A. Wills, who protested against their treatment, was first thrown into the pond and then, while there, assaulted. The suggestion that these incidents are the result of the righteous indignation of law-abiding citizens against the destruction of property would be ludicrous if the matter were not so grave. The real fact is that the beast in certain men is never very far below the surface, and that, encouraged by the license given by the Press, it got the upper hand on that occasion.

The Artful Dodger

Early in last year Mr. Lloyd George undertook to introduce reform into the glaring injustice of the assessment of married women for income-tax. This was to be effected in the Revenue Bill for 1913. No such provision was made. Then women were told to look to the Budget of 1914. It did not deal with the question; the Revenue Bill of 1914 was the proper place, said the crafty one. Now this Bill has just been printed, and there is not a line about married women. Yet this man still finds some women to think him their friend!

Cable from Vida Goldstein

A cable reaches us from Miss Vida Goldstein, as we go to press, that at a great public meeting just held in Melbourne, composed of representatives of the Women's Political Association, University Women, Teachers, Public Servants, Nurses, Clerks, Typists, domestic servants and factory workers, a resolution was passed protesting against the loss of nationality by women on marriage, and asking for the rejection of Clauses 10 and 11 of the British Nationality Bill, which are not in the Commonwealth Naturalisation Act, and pointing out that this is not in accordance with Mr. Harcourt's statement that there would be no interference with the existing legislation in the Dominions.

Double Number, Double Circulation!

We know full well how much our readers will appreciate the beautiful drawings and literary contributions which, through the generosity of so many distinguished authors and artists, we are able to produce in this Summer Number of VOTES FOR WOMEN. We look to our readers to do their part in making this issue a missionary enterprise by doubling the circulation and bringing these convincing arguments to the notice of all their friends.

Items of Interest

The London Society affiliated to the National Union held a successful meeting last Friday in the Queen's Hall, and raised nearly £1,000 for their funds.

Mrs. Besant delivered a stirring address on Tuesday at the Queen's Hall on the present situation and how to solve it. The hall was crowded, and great enthusiasm was evinced (see page 604).

The Actresses' Franchise League are opening a stall at the White City. Their Costume Dinner next Monday night bids fair to be a striking success.

The United Suffragists are holding a great public meeting on July 7 at the Kingsway Hall.

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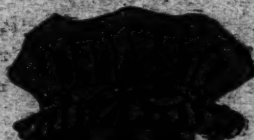
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Lot M4c.

A Charming Fagat Hat, trimmed high mount of tulle and rose buds. Finished on band with soft loops of tulle. Colours black, navy, tuscany, white, trimmed self and contrasting colours. Usual price 21/9.

Sale Price, **18/9**



Lot M4b.
Smart Black Lingerie Hat, bow of ribbon and flowers. Usual price 49d.
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SOME REFLECTIONS, AND A COMPARISON

By Lena Ashwell

When I was in America last month I had the great pleasure of walking with the 10,000 who formed the Suffrage procession in Boston, the capital of Massachusetts. In the capital of every State of the Union there was a similar demonstration on the same day. The procession was a very fine one, and all Boston turned out to see it, the whole attitude of both procession and public being that of kindly good fellowship and genial comprehension and sympathy.

When the procession passed the Capitol, the Governor of the State and representatives of the Senate were on a dais to see us pass, and we saluted them. There was none of the cannot-be-noticed-must-not-be-seen attitude which has been the fate of the processions of the women in this country. I have walked in all the English processions, including the last one, when 40,000 women walked. No governor or representative of the people was there to be seen. Can you imagine the governor of anywhere but Holloway turning up officially to show respect for the demands of women in England?

The Press in America

In all the Boston papers there was a full account of the procession, covering the whole of the front page and two or three columns in the second page, illustrated with photographs. Has anyone in England seen a full description with illustrations of any effort except hysterical and biased reports of "furies," "wild women," and so forth? And yet we have done much harder and much more representative work than our American sisters! Tyranny and brutality do not arouse the best response either from individuals or from any class of the community. The women of this country are in the position of an inferior class, and the desire to keep them in this inferior position comes from carefully nursed prejudice, and is shown in artificial barriers preventing the competition of women and in the non-recognition of the citizenship of women.

I have wondered if the difference of outlook may not be partially due to the fundamental difference in the education of the two countries. There is nothing like a personal experience for driving home a point. I was brought up in Canada at the public school of a small town called Brockville. Boys one side of the room, girls the other; the same masters, the same lessons, the same games, the same hours of recreation. We were not made conscious of the sex difference which begins so early in the education of the young in this country. I could have finished my education at this school, but my parents moved to Toronto, where I went to a girls' school, the sister school to a big boys' school at Port Hope. The two schools had the same examination papers, identically the same education, the same papers for matriculation. In the summer, a camp, where a delightful old colonel who had two children—a boy and a girl—always invited his and her friends to spend the summer. Boys and girls shared the camp work, swimming together, boating together—no hints or suggestions of inferiority or superiority from the sex point of view, only a great mutual benefit and a thoroughly happy, sane attitude towards each other. We girls were not expected to do the dirty work because it was dirty work, and therefore superior men could not touch it. We shared it, and often the boys did more than we did. Anyway, they never asked us to do their share as well.

A Typical English Family

At seventeen, fate and ambition brought me to this country; and in the opposite flat to where I went to live was a family who were, I think, very typical of the English attitude towards women. A widow, with small though independent means, lived there with the last two children unmarried—the boy, now a distinguished Member of Parliament, the girl still a confirmed Anti-Suffragist. There had been the usual great difference in their education. The girl not only cleaned his boots, but his bicycle, as well as her own! Of course, you are used to it in England; you do not think it odd. I did. I do. He was not working hard to keep the roof over her head, or to provide her with luxuries, or any of the things which are usually sup-

posed to go with the pushing away of disagreeable work on to someone else's shoulders. He was working at a lawyer's office and laying the foundation of his very successful career. She is an Anti-Suffragist, of course, well trained in accepting the quiet backwaters of a lonely existence, and the cleaning of bicycles and the tidying-up after other people's enjoyment. It is a wrong attitude, because it is better for people to clean their own bicycles, and not become self-centred. All through England, the education, the luxuries, the enjoyments are for the men first, the women afterwards; and the reason why we women are so passionately trying to impress upon men that women do need the vote in this country is that the position of women is not getting better; it is steadily and surely getting worse.

Women have been calling the attention of the world for the last 100 years to what was going to happen in this country—blowing their tiny trumpets round the massive walls of Indifference and Prejudice. And have they not been right? Up to the time when men got the franchise, it was not really so bad for women. After all, both sexes were unrepresented, and equally struggling for progress without any Constitutional weapon, and it seems impossible to make the general public realise that when a man like Mr. Lansbury loses an election on "Votes for Women," it is not that the women do not want him to represent them and their interests, it is that they have no way of expressing their desire.

The Walls of Jericho

I suppose it is in old civilisations like ours, where the governing classes have studied more deeply the conditions of the East than those of the

modern world, that round their minds grow walls thickly encrusted, not only with the prejudice and limitations of our own much hampered civilisation, but that of the still more unprogressive East. The walls of Jericho are not in it with the walls of prejudice surrounding these gentlemen who will not come down and see what is really happening in the country, but who talk about women's mental and physical disabilities, which, if they are so great, should most surely have the more protection in the labour market.

"Piffle!"

When the debate in the House of Lords on the Women's Enfranchisement Bill was reported in the Boston papers, Lord Curzon's objections were quoted:

- (1) Because I do not think the majority of women want it.
 - (2) Because I am utterly unconvinced by anything that has been said that if the vote were granted any advantageous results would ensue to them. On the contrary, I think it would be injurious to the sex.
- And lastly, because I cannot believe they possess the qualities or temperaments which would make them useful agents in the exercise of political power.

My American host, on reading it, was disrespectful enough and modern enough to ejaculate the remark, "Piffle!" Did the majority ever want any reform before, from Christianity onwards? If the early Christians had been popular, Christianity would have died at its birth. There are many Americans who know that it would be almost a criminal offence to appear in England with a pink tie; and a pink idea must certainly meet with destruction, since Lord Curzon and his kind have had an education, the sole purpose of which seems to be to limit their horizon and prevent any wave of light from reaching them.

PEOPLE WHO WRITE TO THE PAPERS



Things are not always what they seem!

A PROPOSAL

By Cicely Hamilton

Illustrated by Kate Elizabeth Olver



"We've been wandering about all night."

As the cuckoo clock struck six Miss Darrell started and stared at it—with a vague recollection that it had only just struck four. She woke from her two hours' slumber with a sense that something had gone wrong; a sense that was speedily intensified by the sight of her bed unslept in and the uncomfortable consciousness that she was heaped together in a chair. It took her a moment to realize what the something was; and then, with a flash, it came to her—Christina!

Susan, snoring by the kitchen fire, heard her mistress's voice through her snores and likewise started awake. She, like Miss Darrell, had passed the night on a chair; and she, like Miss Darrell, had dozed uncomfortably. She staggered to her feet, blinking in the pale sunlight that came filtering through the mist outside, drowning the still more pallid gleam of the guttering candles on the mantel-piece.

"She's not come back, m'm," she announced, combating a yawn.

"Susan," her mistress answered, "she has been out all night. All night."

The two old women stared at each other, their eyes still heavy with sleep. There was no denying the fact; Christina Darrell had been out all night and all the preceding day. At nine in the morning she had left the cottage to pick up Percy Raikes; and twenty-one hours later there was still no sign of her. . . . It was Susan who broke the silence.

"You don't think, m'm, as there can have been any accident?"

"I almost wish I did," Miss Darrell snapped.

"Lord sakes alive, m'm," her housekeeper gasped in horror. Ignoring the horror, Miss Darrell pursed her lips.

"There hasn't been any accident," she said. "She isn't alone—unfortunately—and if anything had happened young Raikes would have let us know. If I'm not much mistaken she'll stroll in presently and say that they missed their way, or lost a train, and put up somewhere for the night. That would be Christina all over—without the slightest consideration for what will be thought and said! And people are beginning to talk about her and Mr. Raikes already—it was only yesterday Mrs. Frater asked me—"

The clang of the garden gate cut short the sentence. Miss Darrell, it seemed, had not spoken with

out warranty; the opening of the door revealed her niece—dripping—and close behind her an equally dripping youth. Christina poured out a flood of apologies as her boots squeaked into the sitting-room.

"Aunt Marian, I am sorry. You don't mean to say you've been sitting up all night? Oh, thank heaven, you've got a fire for us—how awfully good of you! It's all my fault—not poor Percy's—I would insist on bringing him back by the moor. I shouldn't have minded a bit if it hadn't been for you. We got caught in the fog soon after we left the 'Hen and Chickens,' and we've been wandering about all night. I do apologize—and, oh, Susan, breakfast, breakfast! If you want to save our lives bring a lot of it and quick. . . . I've brought Percy along with me, Aunt Marian, to have some grub and a warm; it's a good step to his inn and they mayn't have anything ready."

"I hope you don't mind, Miss Darrell!" the shivering Percy interjected.

"Not at all," Miss Darrell said stiffly. "Christina, your hair is coming down."

"I should have thought it had come," Christina assented cheerfully. "I'm going upstairs to dry and repair damages—and you sit down by the fire, Percy, and take off your boots and your coat."

Mr. Percy Raikes obeyed her parting orders. He was a round-faced youth of twenty-one who, in spite of Christina's outspoken criticisms, imagined himself an artist. He put down his damp sketch-book and removed his coat and boots; then, stretching out his hands and his feet to the flames, proceeded to thaw himself and to think with enthusiasm of breakfast. So engrossed was he by the pleasant prospect that he had almost forgotten Christina's aunt when her voice broke in on his thoughts.

"This is an unfortunate thing, Mr. Raikes."

Percy, enjoying the comfortable warmth, responded quite cheerfully.

"Yes, it was beastly unlucky. We'd had a ripping day at Tunstall Cross—I did a bit of sketching while Christina pottered about. Then we went to the pub there, and had ham and eggs and did ourselves rather well. If it hadn't been for Christina wanting to come back by the moor, it would have been all right—we couldn't have missed the road. I never saw a fog come on so quick—it was like a blanket in no time. We walked about till we got tired and then we sat down till we got cold—and I don't think I was ever more thankful than when the mist lifted this morning and we saw a farm ahead. We asked the people and they directed us—and here we are, thank goodness!"

His obvious satisfaction found no echo in his listener's face or reply.

"It is most unfortunate—most," she repeated solemnly.

"Oh, all's well that ends well," Percy assured her, as he curled his damp toes to the blaze. Miss Darrell cleared her throat disapprovingly.

"Mr. Raikes," she demanded, "do you realise what you have done?"

Percy swerved round on his seat and gazed at her.

"I beg your pardon," he said, "I didn't catch—"

"I beg your pardon," he said, "I didn't catch—"

Miss Darrell cleared her throat still more disapprovingly.

"Mr. Raikes, as a man of the world" (the unfortunate Percy blushed hotly) "you must surely realise the consequences of your—of my niece's imprudence! You and Christina have been out all night—where?"

"I've just been telling you," the man of the world stammered. "On the moor."

"Exactly," Miss Darrell assented. "On the moor."

—in each other's company. . . . I ask you, Mr. Raikes, as a man of the world, what construction will be placed upon that? Surely you understand that Christina's reputation will be gone!"

The luckless Percy stared at Miss Darrell aghast. He was a well-meaning boy, but (as Christina sometimes informed him) not over intelligent for his age. And even a boy more intelligent might well have been taken aback by the idea so suddenly thrust on him. Christina he had known for years as his elder sister's chum; she had behaved to him always as his elder sister behaved—had ordered him about when he came home from school, found fault with his manners and treated him to tea-shops and pantomimes. The idea that he could compromise this masterful, practical person—who wrote for the papers and was years and years older than he was. . . . It was fully a minute before he found voice to protest.

"Oh, come, I say—that's a bit thick. As if we could help a beastly fog coming on—besides, I've known her since I went into Etons."

"You are not in Etons now," Miss Darrell reminded him firmly.

Mr. Raikes grew redder than the very reddest beet.

"But look here, you surely don't imagine that there was anything—anything wrong?"

To his relief Christina's aunt replied that she certainly did not imagine it.

"Well, then?" Percy demanded triumphantly.

"It is not," Miss Darrell informed him gravely, "a question of what I think. It is a question of what others will not only think, but say."

"Well, but—who's to know?" Mr. Raikes objected weakly.

Miss Darrell leaned forward and laid her hand on his arm. The story, she told him, would be over the village by nightfall. The people at his inn—where Christina had called to fetch him; the people at the farm where he and Christina had called. All these would spread it—nor was gossip likely to stop there. They had friends in the neighbourhood who knew Christina in London; and this kind of scandal was not likely to lessen in the telling. He, as a man, would escape the consequences lightly—but surely he knew that a woman—and so on and so on. . . . The upshot being that the engagement must be published at once.

Now Percy, as has been said, was a well-meaning boy; he was also a boy with a conscience. His round face paled as he listened to Miss Darrell—partly with pity for Christina's plight and partly with horror at



"As if we could help a beastly fog coming on."

the idea of marrying Christina. Her aunt was so solemn, so insistent; the wretched youth's heart sank, alike at the enormity of his offence and the awful enormity of its punishment. Why, why, why, had he ever come to sketch on the moors?

"She's ever so much older than I am," he ventured to object feebly.

"In many ways," Miss Darrell returned, "she is very much younger than her years. For instance, in her thoughtless disregard of appearances."

The miserable Percy sat gulping and staring at the fire. There was a reason unknown to Miss Darrell against the proposed match—a fluffy-haired young woman of blue-eyed and placid attractions.

"Oh, damn it all," he groaned despairingly. "It's jolly hard on a man."

"Wouldn't it be harder still on a woman?" Miss Darrell demanded icily.

Percy's conscience wrestled with the memory of those placid blue eyes and, to his credit be it spoken, his conscience won the day.

"I'll marry her," he announced sulkily.

Christina, having dried her hair and changed, came downstairs shouting for breakfast and arrayed in a blue flannel dressing-gown. She found her prospective bridegroom alone; Miss Darrell having vanished with discretion. She insisted on patting him over to see if he was drying satisfactorily, and dumped him down at the table with instructions to help the bacon. The prospective bridegroom obeyed and then watched her glumly while she ate; his own appetite having suddenly and absolutely departed. So much so that Christina quickly noticed it.

"You're not eating," she announced with concern. "What's the matter? Aren't you well?"

Mr. Raikes muttered something and swallowed a mouthful of bacon. He was wondering how on earth he was ever to propose to Christina. Of one thing he was quite sure; if he did not propose now, he should never find the courage to do it. He waited till she had ceased to look at him, and then, with a desperate effort, laid down his knife and fork.

"Christina—will you be my wife?"

Christina also laid down her knife and fork.

"Do you mind saying that again?" she asked at length, politely.

"You heard all right," Mr. Raikes responded, sullenly.

"I'm not quite sure that I did," Christina replied, still politely.

"I said," Mr. Raikes repeated, loudly and crossly, "Christina, will you be my wife?"

For answer Christina walked round the table and felt her suitor's pulse.

"It's rather hefty," she said, with a kindly concern. "Now, look here, old boy—"

Mr. Raikes rose angrily to his feet.

"I'm not here to be made a fool of, Christina. It's rotten bad taste on your part, let me tell you—rotten."

"My dear boy, you surely don't mean you're serious?"

"Do I look as if I was amusing myself?" the suitor retorted, with justice.

"You are really asking me to marry you?"

"I've said so twice," the indignant wooer snapped.

"Well, it's very flattering and all that, but the answer is 'no.'"

For one moment Percy's heart leaped and the next moment sank. His inclination urged him to accept the refusal; his conscience told him he must not.

"Wh—what's your reason for refusing me?" he stammered.

"First and foremost," Christina enlightened him, "because I'm all right as I am. Secondly, because, if I wanted a husband, I don't think you would suit. There's a good-sized difference in our ages—you're twenty-one and I am thirty-two."

"Well," Percy objected, heroically, "lots of men marry women older than themselves."

"No doubt they do—when they're in love with them."

"Well, I'm in love with you."

"I always thought," said Christina, reproachfully, "that you were a truthful boy. What would Milly say if she heard you?"

"I'm not a cad," the scarlet youth stammered, "and if I marry you, you can be quite sure I shall never think of Milly again—never!"

"Well, but wouldn't it be much simpler if you married Milly and never thought of me again—never?"

"Was ever woman so stupid! Percy shut his eyes and plunged."

"Don't you understand—you've got to marry me! You and I—on the moor—last night—you and I—"

My dear Aunt Marian has had a hand in this."

"She said—" Percy began to explain.

"Some very ridiculous things, no doubt," Miss Darrell's niece interrupted him. "I am hopelessly compromised, I suppose? Yes, I dare say Aunt Marian thinks so."

The poor old dear has been trying to get me married for years and seeing her chance with you, poor boy, she went for it bald-headed. Wanted to drag you to the altar, eh? To save the reputation of an imprudent maiden? Lucky for you the imprudent maiden has her head screwed on the right way."

"You needn't laugh at me," Percy grumbled, uncomfortably.

"Laugh at you," Christina repeated; "my dear boy, I'm admiring you immensely. It's rather heroic, what you've done, and I'm grateful—downright grateful. But I don't see how I can prove my gratitude better than by blankly refusing to marry you."

"You mean it?" Percy gasped, tremulously. "Don't you think you ought to consider it first? Your aunt—"

"Oh, bother my aunt," Christina broke in, irreverently. "Do you think that anyone we know or care for would believe any harm of us because we lost our way? And even if they did, wouldn't it be better to let them believe it than condemn ourselves to lifelong misery together? No, Percy. Come and see me when you like. Come early and stay late; come alone, and bring your wife when you've got one; but never suggest again that I ought to adopt you permanently. I'm off and Milly's on. Say thank you."

"Thank you, Christina," the rejected lover said, fervently, and shook her hand so hard that he almost bruised it.

"That's all right, then," said Christina, releasing herself. "And now we can finish our breakfast."

"I suppose," Percy hesitated. "Your aunt—she'll be very much annoyed!"



"Oh, bother my aunt, Christina broke in irreverently."

"No doubt. You'd rather not meet her?"

The temptation to flee was great, but Percy resisted it nobly.

"I'll stay and see you through," he announced, with an effort. Christina appreciated the effort and shook her head with a smile.

"Much better not. I'd rather manage her myself. Make yourself scarce before she comes in to have a look at us."

"Well, if you're sure—" Mr. Raikes' relief, as he grabbed at his boots, was obvious.

"Change them as soon as you get in," Christina ordered, firmly.

"I will," the rejected one promised as he shuffled into his coat. "Do you think she'll see me from the window?"

"Never mind if she does. Cut and run and don't look back."

As she opened the door for him he caught her hand again.

"Christina, you're an angel," he whispered, with tears in his eyes. And, thinking of Milly, he could really almost have kissed her.

THE HOME OFFICE AND MILITANCY

By George Lansbury

Mr. McKenna acknowledged himself beaten by the women, in the House of Commons, a fortnight ago.

The Press told us that his speech was able, clear, and convincing. At the end of it, however, he was forced to admit that all efforts to check the militant women had failed, and that, so far from being able to put an end to militancy by ordinary methods of coercion, he despaired of doing anything of the kind. If he imagines that confiscating the funds of the movement will prevent militancy, he must be an exceedingly stupid man. Everyone who has given a moment's consideration to the subject must be well aware of the fact that militancy, even if it is paid for, is the least expensive of all the methods of the W.S.P.U. for calling attention to their cause.

On Dangerous Ground

The Home Secretary is on rather dangerous ground. He knows quite well that Lord Londonderry, Sir Edward Carson and other chiefs of the Unionist party have put up huge sums of money in order to buy ammunition, rifles, gatling guns, &c., for use in Ireland. He knows, too, that the Government dare not take any action against any of these people, who have been engaged in one of the most seditious conspiracies in history against a British Government. Surely it is time some public-spirited citizens took action in the Courts against the Chief Secretary for Ireland for neglect of duty, if not for compounding felony. We do not pay a man to be at the head of affairs and then allow him to decide when he will or will not administer the law.

Whatever may happen with regard to this, however, the silly story told by the Home Secretary that confiscating the funds of the Movement would prevent further outrages, is too ridiculous for words. Hundreds of women have committed militant deeds who

known, too, that the methods adopted by the Government have failed, and are bound to fail, against any cause which is based on justice.

A Campaign Wanted

There is a great duty imposed on those who, while being militant, do not agree entirely with the W.S.P.U. A campaign is needed throughout the country for the purpose of arousing public opinion, apart altogether from militancy. It may be difficult to carry this through under present circumstances, but even in the midst of the Land League agitation, when crimes and disorder were prevalent in Ireland and when public opinion in this country was as bitter against Home Rule as it is now said to be against the women, it was always possible to carry on a vigorous propaganda on behalf of the cause of Home Rule. The evil of the present position is that people are discussing everything but Women's Suffrage itself. Even Philip Snowden has called militancy a reason why he and his colleagues should remain quiescent on the subject of Suffrage in the House of Commons. Just now, too, everyone who has the cause at heart should state again and again until it is driven into the minds of the British people, that militancy springs from a cause, and that cause is the gross betrayal of the Suffrage Movement by the Government and the present House of Commons.

"For Us There Is No Truce"

We need to make people realise that thousands of women despair of obtaining anything like an equal standard of life with men under present conditions. Those of us who can influence public opinion in any way, by speaking or writing, must show by our attitude toward the movement that for us there is no truce, but that we are determined, in spite of all the difficulties of the time, to keep the flag flying where

THE EAST END DEPUTATION

Why East End Women Want Votes—Deputation to Mr. Asquith—True Stories of Poverty and Exploitation—Prime Minister Promises "Careful Consideration"

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

At 10, Downing Street last Saturday morning, in accordance with the promise made to Miss Sylvia Pankhurst on the steps of the House of Commons on the preceding Thursday (see page 604), the Prime Minister received a deputation of six working women from the East End of London, headed by Mrs. Julia Scurr and accompanied by Mr. George Lansbury. The sympathy of the public outside was most marked both on the arrival and departure of the deputation, and showed itself in loud and enthusiastic cheers, not a single boo or hiss being heard. The street was fairly filled with a crowd of men and women some time before eleven o'clock, and everything was orderly and good-tempered, and would doubtless have remained so but for an unnecessary occurrence, the proceedings throughout were marked by enthusiasm and orderliness.

THE DEPUTATION

The Prime Minister came in accompanied only by two private secretaries, soon after the six women were seated, and apologised for having kept them waiting. He listened with great attention to the simple and moving stories of women's industrial helplessness laid before him by the deputation, and was particularly impressed by details founded on personal experience, asking, in one case of peculiar hardship, for the name of the firm to be given to him privately afterwards. The non-committal character of his statement, when he gave them his answer, contrasted somewhat with his impressive manner in making it.

THE SPEECHES

Mrs. Julia Scurr

Mrs. Scurr, a Poor Law Guardian and wife of the late President of the London Dockers' Union, began by explaining that besides being members of the East London Federation of the Suffragettes, they also represented the large and popular movement for votes for women which in the East End comprised both men and women. She regretted the absence of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who had done so much to rouse the East London women, and could have put their case better than they could. She then proceeded to speak of the conditions of life in East London, of the women who earned only seven and eight shillings a week, a sum on which it was impossible to live decently, though many of them had little children or aged parents to support on it; of the married women on whom the strain was so severe that it had led to an increase of suicides among married women; of the position of widows, of whom there were so many more in the working classes because their husbands were killed off so young by industrialism. Yet the Government did nothing for them, and the conditions of out-relief were humiliating.

Here Mrs. Scurr broke off and spoke passionately of her own experiences as a Guardian. "You who make the laws," she said, "have no idea how the dignity of the poor is hurt by visitors and inspectors, who come and turn up our bedclothes and pry into all the secrets and the sacred places of our homes." She spoke also of the temptations and sufferings of unmarried mothers, of the White Slave Traffic and prostitution, and pointed out that although the Trade Boards had done something to raise some women's wages, yet they were still wretchedly low. Militancy had sprung up in another Society, and if East End women were not soon granted the vote there would be a No Rent Strike. She ended by urging the Government to bring in a measure giving all women over 21 the vote, and enabling them "to remove the grievous conditions under which we at present live." Mrs. Scurr, as did all the speakers, urged the Prime Minister to grant an unconditional release to Sylvia Pankhurst and Mrs. Walker.

MRS. HUGHES

Mrs. Hughes, a brush-maker from Bow, advanced to the table and produced the brush-maker at her work and a completed

and a half-completed brush, telling the Prime Minister that for filling 200 holes with bristles she earned only 2d. He was much interested, and on hearing that the brush sold for half-a-guinea and that it took her nearly two hours to fill one brush, said he supposed also that she worked faster than others. She assented, saying she had been in the trade for forty-three years—since she was ten years old. Her husband was also a brush-maker, but owing to the use of machinery, now did very little work. "I have to work fourteen hours a day to keep my home together," she concluded, "and I think I ought to have a voice in the making of the laws, same as my husband, who doesn't have to work as hard as I have."

The Premier nodded gravely, and she returned to her seat.

MRS. BIRD

Mrs. Bird, wife of a transport worker at Poplar, told how her husband, "one of the best of men," earned only 25s. a week, "and it's a great trouble to bring up six children on 25s. a week, when there's 6s. 6d. for rent," besides all the insurance fees. At the same time, she regarded her own case as more fortunate than that of thousands in the East End, and she ended with a simple and eloquent appeal for her poorer brothers and sisters, for whom she was really there, asking that women might have a share in helping to better their conditions.

MRS. FORD

Mrs. Ford, of Stepney, told how she had started work in a jam factory at the age of eleven. After her marriage she kept her husband, who was an invalid, for five years before his death, when she was left with two little children to support. She then, being a good needlewoman, went out to work as a trouser-maker, and very movingly she told how the foreman wanted to press unwelcome attentions upon her.

A Tragedy of the Poor

"And that means, you know, sir," she continued, "that a woman has to choose between giving way and letting her children starve. Fortunately, I could do almost any kind of needlework, so I was able to find employment elsewhere; but in the same place there was a young girl, who was perhaps somewhat weak-willed, and she had to go to the workhouse, where a child was born. After she came out she had no place to go to, and she came home to me and shared my bed and room. There were five of us in one room, and, sooner than take the food out of my children's mouths, she went out one day and I never saw her again till three days afterwards, when she and her baby were dragged out of the river."

The way in which she told this tragedy was inexpressibly touching. One might have heard a pin drop in the room while she was telling it. "The man," she went on, "does wrong too. Why shouldn't he help to keep the child too?"

MRS. PARSONS

Mrs. Parsons had been a cigarette packer before her marriage, earning 3d. per 1,000 cigarettes, which meant something less than 1s. a day. Her account of the women's conditions of labour and how they had nowhere to eat their lunch but the lavatory, led the Prime Minister to ask for the name of the firm. She went on to tell how she had to keep three little girls and a niece, and made a fine appeal for mothers. "We women," she said, "perform the dignified service of motherhood—even Statesmen have mothers!—and yet we're not allowed a voice in the making of the laws, and the law says we're not the parents of our own children."

Treatment of Processions

Mrs. Parsons also gave the Premier a stirring description of how processions were broken up by the police, how women were suddenly pointed out by "cowardly detectives in plain clothes," and then bludgeoned by the police; how she knew an old woman of seventy, a shirtmaker, who was still suffering great agony and unable to work through a kick she received when Miss Pankhurst was rearrested a fortnight before.

MRS. PAYNE

Mrs. Payne dwelt on the injustice of making laws for women without allowing women any voice in making or administering them. She gave an instance of hardship in her own case as the mother of a mentally defective daughter who was taken away from her, and when she went to in-

quire why this was done, she was told that they could have no dealings with her because she was not the parent of the child. "You are men, you can make laws about us," she said, "but you don't know how hard it is to have to bear things like this and have no voice in it at all." She ended by demanding the vote for working women, saying, "We come from the East End. We are the voice of the people."

THE PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY

The Prime Minister then rose and said he had received "a great many deputations" from Suffrage organisations, both of men and women, and it was a mistake to suppose, as had been suggested "in one of the letters preceding this deputation" that they had not been representative of working women. On the contrary, he had heard many remarkable speeches from women workers representing the textile trades of the North as well as other industries in all parts of the kingdom.

Proceeding, he said:—"Yet upon consideration I was glad to have an opportunity of meeting you this morning, and for two reasons. First, because I understand that you and the organisation with which you are connected dissociate yourselves altogether from those criminal methods which have done so much to impede the progress of your cause. Next, because I think that the working people of East London in some respects stand on a peculiar footing. They have a special case of their own which is worthy of attention, and which, so far as I am concerned, is always a case I am much more glad to hear at first hand, from people actually concerned in it, than from advocates from outside, however eloquent and persuasive."

"Careful and Mature Consideration"

"I listened with the greatest interest to the statement read by Mrs. Scurr, and to what I may call the special individual experiences of the members of the deputation by which that statement has been reinforced. It has been a very moderate and well-reasoned presentation of your case, and I assure you I will give it very careful and mature consideration. I am not going into anything in the nature of argument, or to deal with any controversial topic. I think I am right in saying that in substance the case you have presented to me to-day comes to this—that the economic conditions under which women labour in a community like, for instance, the East End of London are such that neither in the way of legislation nor perhaps in the way of administration can we get substantial and intelligent reform unless women themselves have a voice in choosing their representatives for Parliament."

"I think it is only fair to point out, as more than one speaker has acknowledged, that these conditions, which are deplorable in many respects—and no one feels that more strongly than I do—have been, as you will see if you cast your eyes back, substantially mitigated—I don't say brought up to the level we all hope to see, but substantially mitigated by legislation and by administration. I will give two illustrations."

No Short Cut or Heroic Remedy

Mr. Asquith then instanced the Trade Boards Act and the increase of women inspectors as having made "a substantial improvement" both in women's wages and in the conditions of their labour, and went on to say:—

"There are special and very sad cases such as have been referred to with regard to the position of deserted wives and unmarried mothers which, no doubt, do call for special consideration, but if every woman over twenty-one had the vote and could exercise it in returning to the House of Commons people in sympathy with her wishes and wants in the matter, you would still find the legislative problem, I won't say insoluble, but excessively difficult. It is a difficult and complex problem which cannot be solved by any short cut or heroic remedy."

"If the Change has Got to Come"

"But I do not want to argue this matter at all. On one point, I am glad to say, I am in complete agreement with you. I have always said that if you are going to give the franchise to women, give it to them on the same terms as you do to men. Make it a democratic measure. It is no good paltering with it. If the discrimination of sex is not sufficient to justify the giving of the vote to one sex and the withholding it from another it follows a fortiori that the discrimination of sex does not

justify and cannot warrant giving to women a restricted form of franchise while you give to men an unrestricted form of franchise. If the change has got to come we must face it boldly and make it thoroughly democratic in its basis."

Miss Pankhurst and Mrs. Walker

"With regard to these two ladies, Miss Pankhurst and Mrs. Walker, I believe they were both bound over in some penal sum."

"Mr. Lansbury: They went to prison in default."

"Mr. Asquith: I understand you to say they are not being punished for taking part in any form of violence."

"A Member of the Deputation: Not at all—just for speaking."

"Mr. Asquith: I understand that Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's organisation disavows anything of that kind. I do not want to argue; I only want to know the facts. At least, that is the fact you presented to me, and your suggestion is that there is a different measure of justice or injustice, whichever you like to call it, meted out as between men and women in these matters; and next, quite apart from that allegation, your suggestion is that this is not an offence, such as any form of criminal violence would be, for which that would be an appropriate punishment. I will gladly speak to the Home Secretary about these cases and consult him on the matter."

"There is not the faintest disposition in any quarter to be vindictive, and although it has unfortunately become necessary to take such steps as can be taken to repress the use of organised violence, there is no desire on the part of any of my colleagues, and certainly not on my own, in any way to interfere with the fullest expression of free speech and the proper organisation of public opinion in all the forms with which we are so familiar in our English political life. Whether we regard it as right or wrong, expedient or inexpedient, that is a perfectly constitutional purpose. I must ask you to be content with these considerations, and to assure you that I will give your arguments my most careful consideration."

No Criticism of Others

Mrs. Julia Scurr, in thanking Mr. Asquith for receiving the deputation, said emphatically that they had no wish or intention to criticise the methods of any other organisation. Mr. Asquith assented readily to this; on being thanked further by Mrs. Scurr for promising to look into the cases of Miss Pankhurst and Mrs. Walker, he added hastily:—

"I said I will consult with the Home Secretary about it. It belongs to his department."

THE PRESS

The *Daily Herald* says that the members of the deputation "are disappointed that Mr. Asquith's reply did not at once give a definite favourable answer to their demand for an immediate Government measure to give a vote to every woman over twenty-one; but they await the result of the careful and mature consideration which Mr. Asquith has promised to give to their demand, and will expect to hear from him within the next few days."

The *Westminster Gazette* had a stroke of imagination and mentioned in its Saturday issue that there was some booing in the crowd both on the arrival and departure of the deputation. Nobody else seems to have heard it.

OTHER COMMENTS

The Prime Minister's whole attitude at Saturday's conference was that of a man who felt that the ground was slipping away from him, and who recognised that the cause he had fought against was going to triumph in spite of him.—*Daily Herald*.

Everybody knows in his heart that the state of society in which such things as those to which the East End women's deputation drew Mr. Asquith's attention on Saturday cannot endure permanently, and that with or without the grant of women suffrage the legislation which will deal effectively with these evils will be costly.—*Daily News*.

So long as the impotence of our chivalry and the shallowness of most of our talk about romantic respect for women are proclaimed by the state of the streets of every English town on every evening of the year, it would at any rate be best for the present male electorate not to offer its own beautiful moral attributes to the working women of East London as a substitute for the protection of a vote. Happily there was no trace of this in Mr. Asquith's reply, showing, as it did, a man who has always hitherto opposed Women's Suffrage, was of most happy augury.—*Manchester Guardian*.

THE CABINET MINISTER

By Henry W. Nevinson

ILLUSTRATED BY ETHEL EVERETT



"Knocks at the golden door, and knocks too late"

I.

Few years ago he started on his course,
Equipt and emulous for the nobler fame;
Aspiring principle, intellectual force,
And conscience pledged the promise of his name.
Proud was the allegiance that his speeches gave
To freedom in historic contests won;
But now his soul lies mouldering in the grave,
And his body goes marching on.

II.

The Party feared his democratic zeal,
Too just in aim, in method too benign;
His bosom cherished every mortal's weal,
Exuding peace and charity half divine;
Out of the abyss he called on God to save
Wrecks of the world from wrongs the world had done;
But now his soul lies mouldering in the grave,
And his body goes marching on.

III.

Behold him soon, live mummy of his past,
Adept for honours, deaf to honour's call,
To Ministerial seats descending fast,
While conscious Ministers applaud his fall;

Alas for resolutions doomed to pave
The infernal surface that he treads upon!
For now his soul lies mouldering in the grave,
And his body goes marching on.

IV.

Colleague of cruelty, mouthing mercy still,
Coercion's helpmeet, to coerce afraid,
He murdered freedom half against his will,
And kissed the holiness he had just betrayed;
Endearing enemy, half reluctant knave,
A cross-bred hypocrite, Pecksniff's bastard son;
And now his soul lies mouldering in the grave,
But his body goes marching on.

V.

Last stage of all: he shares the tyrant's fate,
Sees virtue from afar, and knows it lost,
Knocks at the golden door, and knocks too late,
Expelled from glory where he sought it most;
Peace, mercy, justice, resolutions brave,
Love for mankind and freedom—all are gone,
And now his soul lies mouldering in the grave,
But his body goes marching on.

"DE PROFUNDIS"

The little mother held a girl child in her arms, and the blue eyes of the child looked deep into the eyes of the mother with a solemn questioning look as if she were asking what Fate would bring to her in the days that were coming. But the little mother could give no answer; she only closed the eyes of the child with kisses and vowed that all she had to give should be the child's, so long as they both should live. She dressed her in lovely silks and dainty laces, she shut out from the pretty nursery and from the well-equipped schoolroom all sights and sounds that were ugly; she called to her aid masters of learning and of art who trained the beautiful mind of the girl to harmony with the beautiful body, and the mother said often to herself with a glowing pride, "It shall be well with my child."

But the spirit of the girl was a live spirit, and was seeking ever the things of the spirit, seeking through the smothering atmosphere of the well-ordered, well-appointed home for the keen joy of reality, for contact with vital things, for the suffering and the conquest of suffering, which is the fate of those who voluntarily put themselves in league with the redemptive forces of the world.

And because to those to whom the gods give this gift of desire to heal and help, there is no shelter into which the cry of those who suffer cannot come, to whom the appeal of the lonely, the outcast, the forsaken does not make urgent appeal, she began to hear this cry of the world's need. Life began to take on a new meaning, womanhood an added responsibility, and she fretted to be done with soft living and dependence, and then endless frivolities of life became hateful, the round of pleasure unbearable.

Then, like the tang of a keen sea wind into the heated, stagnant air of a drawing-room, there came to her the first call of womanhood for a fuller, more free life of responsibility and service. And all the youth in her and all the clean desire of her soul went out to the women who, putting aside all else, were giving their lives that this demand might be satisfied.

So she left her beautiful home, she left her sheltered life and the little mother, who loved and sym-

pathised but did not understand, and she set out to earn her bread side by side with others to whom this was necessity and not choice, to learn at first hand what present social conditions had to offer to women, ungifted, unequipped for the struggle for daily bread.

It was then that she began to see the depths that yawn at the feet of women, young, beautiful, alone, untrained, and into those depths she went, at first of her free will, determined to see whatever was to be seen, to shirk no knowledge, to blink no horror.

Fearless, chivalrous into the depths she went.

But with fearless spirit she did not reckon on the effect that this would have on mind and body, and so, gradually, as mind became dull and nerves unstrung, this life of the depths became her life, and she lived it all unconscious of the hurt and of the horror. But there came a day when she saw and understood, when the soul once more took control, and then it was that mind and body could no longer play their part, and she knew that she must leave them and go hence on a journey where maybe she would discover some purpose in all that had befallen her. Bravely, sanely, quietly she set out for the great adventure into the unknown. The little mother saw to it that clean fire destroyed the beautiful body of the girl, and she knows that the spirit of her child awaits her spirit whither she has gone before.

Mary Neal.

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(Up to June 30th, 1914)

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BEHIND THE SCENES

By Mary Maud

The two large volumes of Florence Nightingale's life have doubtless been a revelation to most people. She lived, as she was told, to experience the strange sensation of being a legend in her own lifetime. With this "legend" we were most of us brought up. We heard of the gentle "Lady of the Lamp" who went out to the Crimea to nurse our sick soldiers, who thus inaugurated the vast army of nurses in their neat costumes and did away with the "Sairey Gamps" of early Victorian days. And we knew no more; therefore, the real story of that "Gentle Lady's" life and the realisation of what work was done in the invalid's room, where her life's work was supposed to be over, filled many of us with amazement and regret that we had not known it sooner.

It would fill a volume even briefly to outline the magnitude of the work that occupied Florence Nightingale after her return from the Crimea in 1856, up to the year 1906, when "her secretary had to inform the India Office that sanitary reports could no longer usefully be forwarded to her; though the 'vigour of her campaign' may have declined a little sooner, yet in 1897 she writes she was 'soaked in work, and I have my hands full and am not idle, though people naturally think that I have gone to sleep or am dead.'"

"Florence the First, Empress of Scavengers, Queen of Nurses, Rev. Mother Superior of the British Army, Governor of the Governor of India," so Jowett styled her; and she amended it, "Rather maid of all (dirty) work, or the Nuisance Removal Act—that's me!"

A Public Health Missionary

"She was the Public Health Missionary for India"—that included nursing in military hospitals, improvements in barracks, not forgetting the horses!—and better places for hospitals, the 'Army Sanitary Commission,' the 'Army Medical School,' Pay for soldiers and sailors, and the 'Reform of the War Office,' a large order that, and never quite accomplished. Queen Victoria herself, that most persistently early Victorian of all good ladies, expressed a wish during the Crimean War that we had Miss Nightingale at the War Office!

It was in 1868 that Florence Nightingale obtained a "little department all to myself called 'Of Public Health, Civil and Military,' with Sir Bartle Frere at the head of it." Add to this her "Workhouse Reform," her "Poor Law Reform," Red Cross Societies, the Nightingale Training School, Adviser-General on Hospitals and Nursing all over the world, and a mass of correspondence on all these points with everybody who wanted information on any of these subjects, or those allied to them, and even then we have only begun to realise all that was done, or set in motion, by the retiring invalid at No. 10, South Street.

There is not a person of any importance in the latter half of the last century with whom Florence Nightingale did not come in contact. "She had the ear of the great personages. They knew how much she knew, and they respected her devotion and sincerity. They listened to her, and her letters often produced the kind of stimulating result that sometimes follows a parliamentary intervention." "You initiated the reform which initiated public opinion which made things possible," said Sir John Lawrence to her. A perusal of her life shows one she did far more. The "Gentle Lady" of South Street was an autocrat if ever there was one. She was a born organiser, a splendid "man of business," and she worked others as hard as she worked herself. Not always patient of delays and possessed of great vigour of expression. "Calm is well, but it is not always the spring of action."

"Too Late! Too Late!"

In 1907 it occurred to King Edward, or his Ministers, to offer Florence Nightingale the "Order of Merit," hitherto bestowed only on men. Truly did Lord Roberts say, "The honour was conferred on the Order!" She scarcely realised the intended honour, and murmured, "Too kind, too kind!" We feel inclined to say, "Too late, too late!" The City of London then woke up and sent her its Freedom.

She did not work for honours—no one worthy of them does.

For crown, new work give Thou to me,
Lord, here am I;

but since honours are given, we are free to wonder at the extraordinary sense of justice and equity that leaves one-half of humanity unrepresented in the world's list. And we also ask ourselves was it well, was it for the best in the widest sense that all the wonderful work of this wonderful woman should have been done behind the scenes?

Two men gave her their opinion and advice on this interesting question.

Jowett, her very great friend, writes thus to her:

"The gift of being invisible is much to be desired by anyone who exercises a good influence over others. Though Deborah and Barak work together, Sisera the Captain of the Hosts, must not suspect that he has been delivered into the hands of a woman." And "I hope that you won't leave your influence. It would seriously injure your influence if you were known to have influence."

John Stuart Mill, our very good friend, was the

If you prefer to do your work rather by moving the hidden springs than by allowing yourself to be known to the world as doing what you really do; it is not for me to make any observation on this preference (inasmuch as I am bound to presume that you have good reasons for it) other than to say that I much regret that this preference is so very general among women.

He went on: "She ought not to hide her good deeds." And—

I feel some hesitation in saying to you what I think of the responsibility that lies upon each one of us to stand steadfastly and with all the boldness and all the humility that a deep sense of duty can inspire, by what the experience of life and an honest use of our own intelligence has taught us to be the truth.

That is surely the deepest, truest view of a person's individual responsibility. Are we not recognising it more and more as being as true for women as for men? Think of what the knowledge of Florence Nightingale's activities might have meant in encouragement to thousands of her own sex. Think of the pause it might have given many men in their stereotyped opinion of "woman's sphere"! To bear work and responsibility with "boldness and humility" is what we need to learn, however humble the work. Responsibility we are bound to take, and to face the world in taking, not for our own glorification or justification, but for the work's sake and the sake of others.

How great a temptation it has been, and still is, for many women to shelter themselves behind a man—truly not always with fine intent, it works both ways. "Women's influence" and "backstairs influence" have become almost synonymous. She must learn to stand on her own feet, and he must accept her, free and upright.

In a century that Florence Nightingale declared "was one which has so little ideal, at least, in England," we must regret every light that was hidden in any degree "under a bushel"; every noble life and example that did not "shine forth to give light to them in the house."

For it is

Through such souls alone
God, stooping, shows sufficient of His light
For us! the dark to rise by.

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(See page 604.)
- 3.—Patronise the Advertisers.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4-7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET

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FRIDAY, JUNE 26, 1914.

MR. ASQUITH'S MIND

We will do Mr. Asquith the credit of assuming that he was genuinely moved by the sound common-sense speeches of the little deputation of working women who waited on him on Saturday last. We assume that the story of the terribly hard lives which millions of his fellow country-women are forced to live found some vibrant chord on the human side of his nature. Perhaps while they were speaking it may even have flashed across his mind that his whole opposition to the enfranchisement of women was a blunder, and he may have gone so far as to wonder whether even now it was possible for him to retrieve it.

If so, it was not long before the politician in the man again triumphed. He hardened his heart. A few words of courtesy, a renewed attempt to drive a wedge through the ranks of suffragists by a discussion of the terms on which the vote might be given to women if at all, and the interview was over, to be forgotten in the more congenial round of masculine political activity.

It is not difficult to surmise what were the thoughts which passed through Mr. Asquith's mind in the transition stage. In the first place he would reassure himself that the enfranchisement of women would do only very little to improve the economic position of women's work. Working men were still poor, though many of them had had the vote for many years. Of course, it was very sad that so many of his fellow-creatures were so badly off, but it was in essence not a political but a social matter for which the great laws of the land

the development of human society were responsible. Then he would say to himself that even if enfranchisement would be of benefit to working women the whole orderly fabric of government and international relationship built up by generations of male control would be jeopardised by the entrance into the political arena of the dangerous unknown element of women. And, finally, he would call to mind that his reputation for consistency would suffer if he consented to alter his known hostile opinion, and that he would appear to his anti-suffrage colleagues as a renegade and a mark for ridicule. No public advantage, no possible benefit to mere working women would compensate for this loss of self-dignity.

If we have correctly interpreted the train of thought in Mr. Asquith's mind, then it is not difficult to show the fallacies which underlie it. Working men are poor to-day, but they were far poorer before they had the vote, while the condition of working women—particularly widows with young children—is in many respects worse than it was then. It is true that it is human society as a whole that is responsible for the poverty and broken lives of women, but in modern civilised countries human society is interpreted in large measure through the operation of the political machine. A case in point is the refusal to recognise the married mother as the parent of her own children. It is no use for Mr. Asquith to say that politicians have done much to lighten the lot of working women—if they have done something they have left far bigger things undone—the fact is that they are utterly ignorant of the needs and desires of women, and so long as women continue voteless they will be content to remain ignorant.

Mr. Asquith knows quite well that he himself would never have dared to ignore over and over again the reasonable claim of women to interview him had they possessed the vote. And had he made himself acquainted with the views of different sections of public-spirited women through deputations he would not have continued to hold the false one-sided view of "the sex" which he has acquired from meeting them solely on the artificial plane of society functions, dinner parties, and the like. He would have known then that though there are frivolous women just as there are frivolous men, there are also many women of public spirit, of steady purpose, and of penetrating judgment. He would have learnt that so far from the presence of women in politics jeopardising the ship of state, it will serve to give it balance and bring it safe into harbour.

As to Mr. Asquith's "consistency," future generations will call it "obstinacy," and will realise that it was only due to the singular lack of great statesmen in our time that one so rooted in prejudice was permitted by the people to hold the reins of power. Unfortunately, there are few qualities in a ruler which are a greater curse to a country than this self-same obstinacy displayed by Mr. Asquith. It was the obstinacy of Pharaoh which brought the terrible succession of plagues upon Egypt. It was the obstinacy of Charles I. which plunged this country in civil war. It was the obstinacy of George III. which lost us the American Colonies.

The obstinacy of Mr. Asquith has taken us far along the road of revolution. Is he to be permitted to go on till a still worse conflict is precipitated? Or will not the good sense of the people of the country bid him take a line of greater wisdom or make way for others who are wiser and more discerning than he?

A CHANCE FOR THE IRISH PEERS

By F. Sheehy Skeffington

According to Mr. John Redmond, Ireland is entering on a "new era." In the blast of triumph which he blew over the final passing of the Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons, he professed to be overflowing with conciliatory sentiments towards everybody. Provided only, he said, nothing were asked of him which would be "contrary to the fundamental principle of self-government," he would be prepared to make any concession to his opponents, for the sake of having Home Rule inaugurated amid "universal goodwill," and for the sake of avoiding anything resembling "civil commotion."

Mr. Redmond Put to the Test

Mr. Redmond's declarations were speedily put to the test. He was not thinking of women, of course. The politician never is until he is forced. The habit of disregarding the non-voters and ignoring them has become ingrained, and leads him into the most uncomfortable situations, from which a little thought—not to speak of "goodwill"—would have saved him. Mr. Redmond was promptly asked what he proposed to do for Irish women. The concession of the franchise to them would certainly not outrage the "fundamental principles of self-government"; it is, on the contrary, of the essence of self-government. Universal goodwill cannot exist if the growing mass of Irish Suffragists, militant and non-militant, are to be left definitely and hopelessly outside the Home Rule settlement. And, with his eye on the militants alone, Mr. Redmond might reasonably anticipate that something bearing a remarkably close resemblance to "civil commotion" will be the result of studiously ignoring women's claims to justice.

Mr. Redmond refused even to discuss the matter. He refused to see a deputation of his countrywomen, either in Dublin or in London, and the women who insisted on their right to see him and Mr. Asquith were turned out of the House of Commons by the police.

Is Mr. Redmond, then, a "still, strong man," who cannot be moved from his purpose, who will not yield to any threats? If it were so, a certain measure of respect might be mingled with one's anger. But Mr. Redmond is eager to conciliate—Sir Edward Carson! avowedly because Sir Edward Carson has it in his power to make things exceedingly unpleasant for him if he doesn't. He deliberately refuses an elementary measure of justice to women, because he does not yet fear the women of Ireland sufficiently. One can have nothing but contempt for such an attitude. But it is a dangerous attitude as well. It is the same attitude that has led, step by step, to the most dangerous developments of Suffragist militancy in England.

Despised by the Younger Forces

Mr. Redmond is not going to have such an easy time as he expects when he opens his new Parliament in Dublin. He is despised by all the younger, growing forces in Ireland, which only tolerate him because Home Rule, and with it deliverance from the official Home Rulers, seems so near at hand. At the present moment, Mr. Redmond dare not address any but a ticket meeting in Dublin. He has not, in fact, attempted to do so for two years. Only last Sunday a great Labour meeting in Dublin received the mention of his name with loud groans, and a voice cried, "Give him what he deserves—the hatchet." When one recalls the fierce indignation that prevailed two years ago because Mr. Redmond's ear was accidentally grazed by Mrs. Leigh's hatchet, the significance of this observation can be appreciated. Mr. Redmond has completely lost touch with present-day Ireland under the baleful hypnotism of Mr. Asquith. He has but one chance of recovering something of his old position. Even Mr. Asquith, if one may judge from his latest pronouncement, seems to be reluctantly waking up to a sense of the impotence of his opposition to the forces of progress. Even now, at the eleventh hour, Mr. Redmond has it in his power to make his peace with these forces, and by putting votes for Irish women

into the Amending Bill to make Home Rule really a "charter of liberty," not merely a perpetuation of male tyranny and feminine servitude in Ireland.

Left to the Male Electors

"It must be left to the Irish people," he says—that is, to the male electors. But even they cannot enfranchise their sisters until three years have passed—the three first critical, formative years, when the new Parliament will be creating precedents, planning legislative projects, generally taking on its future orientation. It is an outrage that the women, whose help has made Local Government a success and furnished the strongest practical argument for the suc-

cess of Home Rule, should be shut out from participation in the work of these three important years.

Mr. Redmond has missed his chance. Will the Irish Peers take it? The Amending Bill is now before them. Will they incorporate in it the Snowden Amendment, enfranchising from the beginning the Irish women who have already exercised the franchise with success in local government? Even an Anti-Suffragist Peer could do so with a good conscience—*teste* Mrs. Humphry Ward! And it would be a splendid opportunity to redress some of the grievances inflicted in the past by the House of Lords on the Irish people.

AN OPEN LETTER TO MR. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

Sir,—You will remember that one of the many occasions on which the Government which you so ably support showed its impartiality towards Woman Suffrage by killing a Suffrage Bill was in the summer of 1910. On that occasion, according to the reports, one Member of the House of Commons had the courage to make the following statesmanlike protest, and to utter the following warning:—

"I personally have never defended the militant tactics, but if the Government refuse facilities for this Bill or say they will not put forward an alternative proposal, the whole situation is changed, and there are tens of thousands of women who have opposed militant tactics and have confined their agitation to constitutional methods, but who realise that new methods are needed. The main argument which was advanced against Woman Suffrage was that the final court of appeal was force, and therefore the women cannot be blamed if they accept the advice which the opponents of Woman Suffrage have given them."

The Member who made that protest and uttered that warning was Mr. Philip Snowden.

You will remember that in the summer of 1911 a gentleman addressed a meeting, at the London Pavilion, of the W.S.P.U. (a militant society), and declared:—

"There never has been an agitation carried on with so much energy, enthusiasm, disinterestedness and self-sacrifice as this agitation for political rights for women."

The gentleman who made that declaration was Mr. Philip Snowden.

You will remember that in the November of the same year an excellent article appeared in the *Christian Commonwealth* on the Government's proposed Manhood Suffrage Bill. The writer of the article said:

"Any attempt to reform our electoral system and to give more votes to men without extending the franchise to women would be a gross betrayal of a public trust and a scandalous and shameful outrage on women. . . . The duty of every honest friend of the women is perfectly clear. No real friend of theirs will have anything to do with a measure which insults women by leaving them outside."

The writer of that article was Mr. Philip Snowden.

You will remember that in the summer of 1912 a great change came over the relations of the Labour Party to Woman Suffrage. I need not remind you of the high promises of the spring; nor need I remind you of the shameful abandonment by the Labour Party, after the summer, of every pretence of loyalty or sincerity towards anything or anybody except the Liberal Government. But I will remind you that even among those who were most disgusted by the failure of the party as a whole, there were many who continued to believe in individual Labour Members.

One of the Members who retained our faith and admiration was Mr. Philip Snowden.

You will remember that in 1913 you wisely and generously, consistently and sincerely, voted against the Plural Voting Bill (you have not, I think, performed quite so gallantly this year!). You will remember with what fine effect of courage and honesty you pressed your Suffrage Amendment to the Home Rule Bill. You will remember innumerable instances of your own sacrifices and endeavours in the cause of the oppressed. And you will remember that last week there appeared in the *Daily Chronicle* an article on Woman Suffrage which (I am sorry to use so harsh an expression, but it is true) might have been written by Mr. Lloyd George himself. The writer of that article was Mr. Philip Snowden.

You say in the course of the article that "the Syndicalists . . . are the closest allies of the militant Suffragettes." That is wholly untrue. Syndicalists as such have no alliance with Suffrage. They despise and deride the vote. Beginning in many cases by deriding those who were fighting for the vote, they have (all honour to them) come to recognise the courage and self-sacrifice of the fighters, and to support them against unjust coercion and contemptible trickery. That is the extent of the "alliance," as everyone at all in touch with the Syndicalist movement knows; and even that measure of alliance leaves many Syndicalists outside. You say further that the demand for the vote is but an excuse for Suffragettes "giving expression to their anti-social impulses to make war on society." Yet no one knows better than you by what slow and bitter degrees these women have been driven to despair of "constitutional" agitation; no one knows better than you how devoted in their hearts to the best interests of society they are. I refer you to your speeches and articles just quoted. You say that it is difficult to imagine a more foolish suggestion than the suggestion that the way to stop militancy is to grant the vote, because (you contend) that would be a "base surrender to criminality and violence." In that case, as you know, every extension of the franchise to men has been a base surrender to criminality and violence. You can scarcely mean that politicians are to flout a just demand till they excite militancy, and then refuse to appease militancy by granting the just demand. Yet, if you do not mean that, you mean nothing. As for your use of the phrase, "wild women," I can only say it is not worthy of what you used to be. You are the best judge of whether it is worthy of what you are now.

Lastly, I would ask you to put the sentence: "I do not admit that the treatment of this question justifies resort to unconstitutional action" against the first of the quotations I have given above, and to remind yourself that the author of both the one sentiment and the other is Mr. Philip Snowden.—I am, sir, your late admirer,

Gerald Gould.

HOW A KING BEHAVED CONSTITUTIONALLY

By Laurence Housman

Illustrated by Kate Elizabeth Olver

There was a King once who, whenever he wanted to do anything noble and kingly, was told that it "wasn't constitutional." Things which his great-grandfather had done quite "constitutionally," he must not do because his father and grandfather had not done them. For anything that a King has once left off doing must never be done again by those who come after him, though the law and the constitution as regards that matter have at no time been altered. And the reason for this is that under all modern thrones lies curled a long worm that knows no turning, which for public purposes is called "Precedent," but is in reality "Creeping Paralysis." And this worm has been put there by the King's Ministers, and it feeds and fattens at their hand daily, and causes a dry rot to extend to the legs of the throne under which it takes shelter, so that presently they break off, and the throne falling this way or that spilteth its contents and lieth that same way up from all care departed. And when that has come about then is the work of Precedent, or Creeping Paralysis, accomplished; and the King's

so it was that the King, when he went into public to be amused, looked sad and woeful and very bored, because of the wax mingled with honey which they had put into his ears, lest he should hear what was told him and think things which were not "constitutional."

Thus for many months the King led a dog's life, and could see no way out of it. Till one day he thought him, and he sent for his Chief Minister and said to him, "Why, when I appear in public, can you not preserve order and decorum? Why is there always disturbance?"

And the Chief Minister answered, "We keep it from your Majesty's ears to the best of our ability."

"The last time," complained the King, "my left ear itched, and when I rubbed it the wax fell out of it, and I heard."

"That, Sir, was very regrettable," replied his Chief Minister. "We will do our best that it shall not happen again."

"Mr. Minister," said the King, "in future I shall wear no wax in my ears."

The Minister opened his eyes in horror. "But that, your Majesty," he cried, "that would be unconstitutional!"

"So you tell me," said the King; "and as I have to take your word for it, I am determined to remain constitutional and to go nowhere."

"Nowhere, your Majesty!"

"Nowhere that makes it necessary for me to preserve the constitution by wearing wax in my ears."

"But, Sir—!"

"What I have said I mean," said the King; and the audience ended.

So from that day forward the King went to no plays, opened no hospitals, launched no battleships, reviewed no troops, inspected no factories, visited no Dukes in their country houses, hunted with no hounds, and did nothing at all but his strict constitutional duty of signing papers at all hours, and listening silently to the words of wisdom which fell from the mouths of Ministers. And in all this he was strictly, absolutely, and appallingly "constitutional."

Ministers almost stood on their heads in dismay. "But, your Majesty!" they began crying, and when they fell down on their knees before him, beseeching him to come out of the constitutional shell wherein he had entrenched himself, then for the first time the King tasted power.

"If you will undertake," said he, "to preserve order and decorum without putting wax in my ears, I will return to public life; but not unless."

And as Ministers would give no such undertaking, in private he remained.

Then the vested interests opened cry—and there was a cry to which Ministers were readily attached. "Look here!" they protested, "if this goes on what



"Ministers almost stood on their heads in dismay."

will become of our profits? If the King doesn't go to open hospitals the subscriptions fall off; if he doesn't launch battleships people begin to say that battleships are ugly and expensive, and the navy will become unpopular; if he doesn't review troops it lets down recruiting; and if he doesn't go anywhere at all trade suffers!"

All these complaints were urgently passed on to the King by his distracted Ministers, but to all he made the same answer. "I am only behaving constitutionally. If you will undertake to preserve order and decorum and rid me of the constitutional necessity of going about with wax in my ears, I will again be good to trade, and show myself in public; but not unless." And the King smiled sweetly, a smile that had run in the family, from father to son, for six hundred years. But never before had it carried with it such power and such compelling weight over an unjust and recalcitrant Ministry.

The King had discovered the true secret of how to rule "constitutionally"; having once hit upon it, there was no standing up against him. And this is really the end of the story.

"I don't think they will ever try to put wax in my ears again," said the King to himself, on the day when he went forth out of his palace to receive again the enthusiastic plaudits of his people. There was no disturbance—order and decorum had been restored; all because the King, using his wits, and the social power which was still his, had acted "constitutionally."

Under the throne Creeping Paralysis shrank to small and insignificant proportions. Ministers went in the King's procession with their noses out of joint; but nobody paid any attention to them, for everybody else was happy and contented. "Ah!" said a voice in the crowd, "There's nothing to equal a King, if he only knows how to behave like one!"



"The King smiled sweetly, a smile that had run in the family, for six hundred years."



"They put wax in the king's ears so that he could not hear anything."

Ministers, who have so long treated it, feast on the fat of it and are filled.

In the country of that King, who is here told of many things noble and kingly waited to be done, but he might not do them. So presently there arose discontent and trouble; and wherever the King went, out of the crowd came a cry, and supplicants falling before the King's feet, or knocking at the King's door at all hours of the day and night, asking to be heard in complaint against the King's Ministers. But the King could not hear them, for Creeping Paralysis had wound its coils about his feet and to free himself from these would not have been "constitutional." But presently, because the cry was constant upon the King's appearance in public, in street and in theatre, order and decorum were flown, and they that conducted ceremony sat on thorns, and knew not from moment to moment when disturbance might not arise. And to preserve the King's countenance and to keep him from dangerous knowledge, they put wax in the King's ears so that he could not hear anything—neither the addresses of Mayors and dignitaries, nor the voices of the singers and actors, nor the cry of his supplicants, nor the cry of his subjects.

THE VOTE FOR DUTIES

By Alice Meynell



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ALICE MEYNELL

From a Drawing by John S. Sargent, R.A.

When the vote is claimed on behalf of women for the sake of their "emancipation," I wish rather that the claim were made in the name of women ready for new and nobler bonds. Every duty is a bond, and duties are added to duties as life is exalted. I am bold to say that I do not love liberty. This perhaps because I have lived to know the futility of the cry of "Liberty" for which men died in Italy in our fathers' day; nay, it was not even a cry, but the mere echo of a cry, an echo that had wandered traditionally from days when there were personal tyrants and government was their caprice. There is no liberty for any society except that of fishes; or there should be none. I suppose that the son of a millionaire may be a free man, but not lawfully so. Such freedom is the antithesis of the citizenship which women are demanding. Prosperous women without a vote are more free than they will be, charged with that duty. They are claiming not emancipation, but a burden to be sustained, a cause to be carried, a responsibility to be faced, and by these means a score of cruelties to be abolished by comprehensive justice.

When has there been, before, such an insistent demand for less ease, less laxity, less facility and softness of life, less shiftiness and evasion? It is not for these things that men have petitioned and made historic revolts and revolutions. Our own national revision of dynasty and constitution led to a Bill of Rights, not to a Bill of Duties.

The women who are asking for a change in the Constitution to-day are, moreover, advocates rather than plaintiffs. The leaders of this movement have little or nothing to complain of in their own economic, or social, or legal fortunes. A thing worth noting is this essential democracy. The claim of the suffrage for women is the claim of a sex and not of a class. And this fact is the sign of a wider altruism and a greater generosity than ever inspired a class revolution. This movement is the most democratic in all history. As a force it is as democratic as religion itself. It has no hatred and no irony of rich and poor. Common democracy is partial, but this is as general as it is generous.

Women have surely often felt the injustice of the emphasis put upon sex by those who comment on all they do. Their wrong-doing, whether in weak grammar or graver crime, is criticised as the fault of a sex, whereas the weak grammar or graver crime of men is not held to be the fault of a sex. And this is in face of the fact that a great number of women have

apart from the distinctions and purposes of sex; whereas very few men, out of Catholic Orders, live thus apart. Were Byron's boast true—that sexual "love is woman's whole existence," it would be a miraculous thing indeed that multitudes of women live without "their whole existence," and live happily, evenly, and strongly thus; whereas men, from whose life "love is a thing apart" can very seldom live without it. The truth is that a number of women of a certain intellect and character are better fitted, by their sex immunity, for public action than many men. The womanhood that has so long been feigned to be a disability to such action is for them truly an ability, and will become more conspicuously an ability as the present tendency of our social system goes onward.

And these able women are now addressing themselves to the redressing of great wrongs, such as the indecent conditions of our police-courts, the infamously cruel administration, or rather non-administration, of affiliation orders; there are other cruelties, but if there were none but these two, these two should be enough to raise up all that is modest, all that is just, in the hearts of men and women alike to demand the reform so long denied.

THE CHILD'S GUIDE TO POLITICS

A Proposed Appendix to a Mid-Victorian Classic

By Evelyn Sharp

QUESTION: Pray, what is Parliament?

ANSWER: An assembly of respectable persons of the male sex elected for the purpose of restraining the baser forces of progress.

Q: Do they give their services free to this noble cause?

A: No. They are rewarded with four hundred pounds a year, assigned to them out of the pockets of the nation to ensure the purity of their motives and the negligibility of their cerebral capacities.

Q: Is the nation entirely male?

A: Only when it is paid. When it pays, it is both male and female.

Q: Is not this an evidence of the inscrutable marvels of Creation?

A: Yes.

Q: What is progress?

A: An ancient sport of the middle classes, which aimed at keeping England from being what it is.

Q: Is it the same thing as freedom?

A: It was popular in the same epoch of our country's history. Thanks to the obdurate character of her hardy sons, both are now happily extinct.

Q: For what purpose, then, do we assign Members of Parliament four hundred a year? Or is this another instance of the inscrutable marvels—?

A: It is time you changed the subject. You are forgetting the rules of this compendium.

Q: What is a musket?

A: An obsolete weapon, now only found in police courts, where it is loaded with blank cartridge. When fired it makes a loud and unpleasant noise, deafening for the moment, but quickly forgotten.

Q: Pray, does it bear any resemblance to a bodkin?

A: Yes. The bodkin is also to be found in police courts. Once a female appanage of a mild and elegant appearance, it still retains its harmless character, except when brought by accident or design into contact with Free Speech.

Q: Pray, is Free Speech ever free?

A: Only when there are plenty of police outside the hall and plenty of stewards inside.

Q: What are the stewards for?

A: To throw the females out.

Q: What are the police for?

A: To run the females in.

Q: Pray, why are females thrown out and run in?

A: To reassure the loyal subjects of His gracious Majesty that physical force still rules the world.

Q: Does not the hand that rocks the cradle rule the world?

A: Yes.

Q: Is the world male or female?

A: It is male when it rules and female when it is ruled.

Q: Then the cradle is female and the hand that rocks it is male? Is not this an evidence of the inscrutable logic of the masculine mind?

A: Yes.

Q: Pray, does not our noble and hereditary monarch—

A: Do not say "pray" any more. You will be charged with brawling in Church if you do.

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NON-MILITANT SUFFRAGISTS

Meeting in the Queen's Hall

A meeting was held by the London Society of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies in the Queen's Hall on Friday evening last, for the purpose of inaugurating a great Metropolitan Fund. The following resolutions were passed:—

1. That this meeting, being convinced of the urgent necessity at this time of giving greater publicity and wider scope to the constitutional movement for Women's Suffrage, resolves by the inauguration of the Law-Abiding Suffragists' Great Metropolitan Fund to do all in its power to extend the work of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies in London.

2. That this meeting, believing the enfranchisement of women to be essential for the highest welfare of the nation, calls upon the Government to introduce a measure for Women's Suffrage without delay.

THE SPEECHES

The Chair

The Lady Frances Balfour, who presided, referred to the discontent and restlessness among the people of the whole nation after ten years of Liberal Government. Everyone knew that its time was nearly spent; its sun was sinking behind the mountains of time. (Applause.) The responsibility for militancy lay with those who, by their treatment, by their constant disappointment, by their constant breaking of pledges, had created in the breasts of citizens, male and female, a feeling that justice was still waiting at the door.

MRS. FAWCETT

Mrs. Fawcett, moving the first resolution, said she attributed the disorder of the present time to the mishandling from the beginning of this great subject by the Government. (Applause.) They were deaf and blind; they were unable to read the signs of the times; they had entirely misjudged this great movement of women for freedom. They saw nothing, and she quoted the words of Macaulay in this connection: "Woe to that Government which thinks that a great, a steady, and long-continued movement of the public mind can be stopped like a street riot."

No Set-Back

Some people said there had been a set-back of the movement in the House of Commons, but in the long run the House of Commons was subservient to the will of the people. What was the position of the question in the country? There had been no set-back; on the contrary, there had been an enormous advance.

In those countries where women had votes they had exercised them as good citizens. The women of Colorado who had intervened in the recent mining strike had not to sit upon the Governor's doorstep and threaten to starve, but were received at once by the Governor.

THE BISHOP OF KENSINGTON

A great welcome was accorded the Bishop of Kensington, who emphasised the great moral and spiritual forces behind the movement for women's emancipation. He had been engaged for many years in a movement to raise chivalry and purity among men, and to rescue those who had been the victims of men's selfishness and lust. What they were up against was a dead wall of apathy on the part of the general public, and also the prudery of the Press, which always put out of sight facts that everyone knew. Those men who were prating of chivalry to-day were the people who had one standard of purity for women and another for men. Whilst women and girls were compelled to work for sweated wages, no surprise could be felt at the result. He himself had collected between sixty and seventy life histories from girls, and the large proportion of them had traced their fall to the necessity of living.

Proceeding, the Bishop said: "We Suffragists know that behind the moral indignation there is a fire which will never be quenched, because it is a moral and a spiritual force that is determined to have justice. What is the attitude of the public, of members of Parliament, and even of the Church? It is a policy of 'Wait and see.' You may try and suppress that great force of moral passion for righteousness and purity; but if you do, you will divert it into channels which will cause havoc. What are we going to do? (Cries of "Be militant!") We are going to waste no time in denouncing other people. (Applause.) We are going to reserve our indignation for those upon whom we settle the responsibility." (Applause.)

MISS MARGARET ASHTON, M.A.

Miss Margaret Ashton, seconding the resolution, said that Parliament would soon have to come out and face the people of England, who had seen their juggling, and were beginning to realise the injustice, the dual nature of a party which was supposed to be democratic, and yet left it to voteless women to uphold democracy. It was a proud thing to be an Englishwoman fighting for liberty, but it was not a proud thing to be an Englishman standing by. (Applause.)

MRS. SIDNEY WEBB

The second resolution was moved by Mrs. Sidney Webb, who said that the main argument for women's suffrage was that Parliament, being composed exclusively of

men and representing men, was continually interfering with the affairs of women. She referred to the discussion at Westminster on the previous evening, as to whether it was in the public interest that respectable working women should be permitted to retain their children, or whether they should be dragged from them and put into the workhouse, and then sent out to earn their own living. This discussion had been carried on by men, and most of them showed their discretion by being absent, very naturally feeling that they knew very little about it. The Government were not only responsible for injustice, not only responsible for militancy, but responsible for producing out of the world of women, especially among women who teach, think, write, and talk, a state of revolt against men. (Applause.)

MRS. HOOD

Mrs. Hood, of the Co-operative Guild, seconding the resolution, instanced a few reasons why married women workers were so eager for the vote. Such questions as parentage, education, school clinics, the housing problem, equality in the divorce laws, and the wages of women and girls, were urging them on. She herself knew of the case of a girl who, when applying for a dressmaker's post in a West End firm was offered 5s. a week and a doorway!

FUND RAISED

A sum between £900 and £1,000 was raised.

MARRIED WOMEN'S INCOME TAX

The Chancellor's Evasions

The text of both the Finance Bill and the Revenue Bill is now published, and neither contains any reference to the redress of the married women's grievance with regard to the collection of their income tax, though it will be remembered that Mr. Lloyd George said on the introduction of his Budget this year that the Revenue Bill would be the proper place in which to deal with it.

Case of Mrs. Ayres Purdie

In answer to a question in the House of Commons on June 16 by Mr. Cassell, asking the Chancellor of the Exchequer



THE ARTFUL DODGER

Suggested to "A Patriot" by an article in the "Daily Herald"

whether, in view of Mr. Justice Rowlett's decision in the case of Purdie v. The King, the Commissioners will now recognise the claims of married women to exemption and rebatement in respect of separate income, Mr. Lloyd George said: I am unable to recognise that the decision in this case, under which it was held that Mrs. Purdie was not entitled to the repayment of tax claimed by her, involves the consequences suggested by the hon. and learned Member.

Mr. Cassell: Can the right hon. gentleman say why it is that, although an income from which the tax has been deducted is not deemed to be the husband's income, the wife is not entitled to claim her exemption?

Mr. Lloyd George: The hon. and learned gentleman is now entering into an argumentative matter which I could not possibly discuss. (Laughter.)

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COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Assault on Wife and Child

The *Islington Gazette* (June 8) reports case of a labourer charged before Mr. Bros at the Clerkenwell Police Court with assaulting and beating his wife and trying to throw her out of the window, and with assaulting and beating his step-daughter, aged 11.

Sentence:—Nine weeks' imprisonment.

Cruelty to a Cat

The *Morning Post* (June 18) reports case of two men charged at Willesden Police Court before Alderman Pinkham with cruelty to a cat, which they threw down a street drain and killed.

Sentence:—Fine of 20s. or fourteen days' imprisonment.

HEAVY SENTENCES

Stealing a Bicycle

The *Times* (June 12) reports case of a painter charged with stealing a bicycle; also with being an habitual criminal.

Sentence:—Three years' imprisonment and seven years' preventive detention.

Being Suspected Persons

The *Daily Telegraph* (June 18) reports case of a wholesale clothes dealer and an antique dealer, charged before Mr. Fordham at West London Police Court with being suspected persons loitering and attempting to pick pockets near Olympia.

Sentence:—Clothes dealer to six months' hard labour; antique dealer to three months' hard labour.

A DANIEL ON THE BENCH

We have occasion so often to dissent from the magisterial view of woman's status that it is encouraging to find an occupant of the Bench overriding the technically legal definition of fatherhood. At Old Street Police Court, Mr. Clarke Hall is reported by the *Times* (June 18) to have said to a soldier, who pleaded in excuse of not having contributed to the support of his two illegitimate children that he had already had a wife and one child to keep—"The other children are also yours, and have an equal claim on you."

FREE SPEECH AND THE BENCH

Last week we commented on the extraordinary view taken by the police and some magistrates of the right of public meeting, in the case of Mr. Ernest Duval and another Suffragist, who, when holding a meeting in Hyde Park, were mobbed by a gang of hooligans, and were afterwards fined forty shillings, or in default, fourteen days' imprisonment—the hooligans being allowed to go scot free.

Magisterial Maxims

Another instance of this Gilbertian justice occurred at Lambeth Police Court on June 16, when a labourer was charged

with "behaving in a disorderly manner" by holding an open-air meeting at which hooligans threw missiles at the speaker. Not being a Suffrage speaker, the man was discharged, but not before the magistrate, according to the *Evening Standard* (June 16), had delivered himself of the following remarkable maxims:—

"The point is that you have no right to hold a meeting in a public street."

"Nowadays everybody seems to think he has a right to say what he pleases in the public street. It is getting an abominable nuisance."

Really, if we are to lose the right of free speech, it is a pity we cannot begin by silencing the magisterial Bench!

Discriminating Justice

If the report in the *Pall Mall Gazette* (June 22) is correct, Mr. Garrett used some remarkable words in binding over two male defendants in the South-Western Police Court last Monday, who were charged with mobbing and hustling a young woman who was thought to be a Suffragette. The magistrate is reported to have said that "people should be careful to discriminate between those who were Suffragettes and peaceful citizens."

On what authority does Mr. Garrett thus place Suffragist speakers beyond the protection of the law, for which they pay equally with men?

OUR POOR COLONIES!

A man charged at Leeds Police Court (see *Yorkshire Evening News*, June 11) with living on the immoral earnings of a young woman, was remanded in custody for eight days, the magistrate, Mr. C. M. Atkinson, saying he thought it desirable that the man should be sent out of the country, and arrangements could thus be made for sending him to the colonies. He said he was adopting this course because there were no previous convictions against the defendant.

We hope the colonies like this sort of thing, but for our part, in spite of all the "Antis" may say to the contrary, we hope and think women will be too "Imperially minded" when they have won the power to influence the decisions of the Courts, to choose this particular kind of case as one for colonisation rather than detention.

LOOK AT HOME!

The special correspondent of the *Morning Post* recently called attention to the inadequate sentences imposed by Calcutta magistrates upon native husbands convicted of mutilating their wives for unfaithfulness or other reasons, as compared with the sentences given to men convicted of similar assaults against men. "In any case," continues the correspondent, "the brutal acts and the manner in which the offenders were treated by the magistrate indicate a conception of woman's status which is not recognised by the Indian Penal Code, and ought to receive no sanction from a civilised Government."

But it is this conception of woman's status which receives sanction in the Courts of our own country almost daily!

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed to Suffragists in the Press during the week:—

Thursday, June 18.—Attempt to burn Beckenham Church.

Saturday, June 20.—Attempt to fire a train discovered at Alnwick.

Sunday, June 21.—Bomb explosion, between the North Milling Company's premises and Mr. Devendish's Co-operative on the north side of the City of Dublin.

Monday, June 22.—Bomb discovered in porch of St. Mary's Church, Reading.

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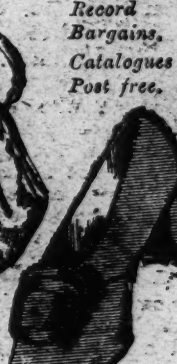
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UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

(United FOR Woman Suffrage AGAINST the Government
IRRESPECTIVE of Individual Opinions about Methods)

At the **KINGSWAY HALL**, on **TUESDAY, JULY 7th**, at 8 o'clock p.m.

SPEAKERS:

MISS LENA ASHWELL (Chair) MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE

MME. YVETTE GUILBERT

MRS. JULIA SCURR (Leader of Working Women's Deputation to the Premier)

MR. H. D. HARBEN

MR. H. W. NEVINSON

WE'RE US, we're IT, we're Suffragists
United,

And by these presents all are now invited
For July 7th, mark ye well the day,
To our great meeting in the Hall
Kingsway.

Suffs., Anti-Suffs., and yes, the C.I.D.,
Who make what isn't what it shouldn't be,
And unctuous Ulstermen who shriek abhorrence

Of all the works of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.
There we will fire your hearts and not
your houses

(For which we blame the cat and not the
mouses).

Our subject: "Militancy—how to stop it,"
And, item, how to make the Premier hop it.

WE demand peace: McKenna yelps
for war

And against justice bangs and bolts the
door.

He, though his mind is muddy and obfuscate,
Must sheathe the Bodkin and unload the
Muskett.

The chair by Lena Ashwell will be taken,
Who thinks these politicians should be
shaken

Out of their realms of promises and ease
To deal with vital problems such as these;
And H. D. Harben, who refused to be
Of Barnstaple the Liberal M.P.,

Will speak about the dignity of Kings
So much enhanced by all the curious
things

DONE in their name and in the name
of order

By curious persons from the Celtic
border;

And Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who will say
Something to take the listeners' breath
away,

Bringing to womankind new confidence,
And even to Ministers a grain of sense.

On top of all of which we can declare
We've got the service of Yvette Guilbert.

To hear these speakers there will be a
crush,
Therefore book early to avoid the rush.

—The United Poets.

**TICKETS:—Numbered and Reserved, 2s. 6d., 1s. and Unreserved, 6d., from Ticket Secretary,
3, Adam Street, Strand.**

SYLVIA PANKHURST'S VIGIL

At the Door of the "People's" House
(From Our Own Correspondent)

A kind of hush was over the little crowd of people, and this, added to the dim light which always pervades the wide, open space opposite the Strangers' Entrance, gave a touch of unreality to the extraordinary thing that was happening there. Yet few events more real, possibly, have ever happened at the door of the House of Commons than the two hours' vigil of Sylvia Pankhurst on Thursday evening in last week.

She had been released from Holloway that afternoon, under conditions, for the ninth time in rather less than a year. For the ninth time she had undergone the hunger and thirst strike, six or eight days of which, according to the Home Secretary, "is far more severe than two or three months' imprisonment" under ordinary prison conditions. Without touching food or water, she had been driven down to the House of Commons, in accordance with her vow to stay there fasting until Mr. Asquith consented to receive the working women from the East, or until the end of all fasting should come. The little car stayed there motionless. People quickly gathered round, friends who were Suffragists, Suffragists who were friends, the usual insolent contingent from the C.I.D., several Press men, and a sprinkling of the ordinary public. It was a strange gathering, one of the strangest that the movement has yet brought together. And in the middle lay the frail-looking fighter who meant at any cost to see this thing through.

And she saw it through. It took nearly two hours. With her in the car were a nurse and a woman friend; by the door stood a famous war correspondent with bared head, and beyond him a woman doctor. Now and then a Member, whose soul has not utterly died in the atmosphere of the House of Commons, a Keir Hardie or a Wedgwood, crossed the space that lay between the car and the strangers' entrance, and acted as messenger for the woman who lay there.

A dramatic turn was given to the proceedings when, on receiving the final message that the Speaker would not allow her even the shelter of St. Stephen's Hall, she was carried to the little door at the side of the main entrance and laid there on the steps. Friends and public were swept aside into the road by the police; only detectives and Members of Parliament were allowed to go close to her, to stare down at the prostrate figure on the stone steps. But one was half glad that they should be given this chance of finding salvation.

When the news came that the Prime Minister had consented to receive the working women on the following Saturday, it was these gentlemen who stood bewildered and silent, while women and men, from the East and the West, broke into wild cheering that sped the triumphant car on its way home.

THE REFERENDUM

Lord Murray of Elibank having, in a letter to the *Times*, revived the notion of a Referendum for Woman Suffrage, preferably previous to the next General Election, Mr. King asked the Prime Minister, in the House of Commons last Monday, whether he would approach the Leaders of the Opposition with a view of finding out whether a Bill with this object would be considered non-contentious.

The Prime Minister: I have seen in the public Press a letter from Lord Murray on this subject, but I am not satisfied that the suggestion made in it is the proper method of dealing with the question referred to, nor do I think that a Bill for the object is likely to be regarded as non-contentious.

MRS. BESANT ON THE PRESENT SITUATION

(From Our Own Correspondent)

At the Queen's Hall, last Tuesday evening, Mrs. Besant made an able and eloquent speech on the present Suffrage situation. One gathered both from applause and interjections that every element of Suffrage opinion was represented in the packed hall, and the lecturer, standing alone on the platform without the support of chairman or fellow speakers, dominated the vast audience with the utmost ease. She divided her speech into four parts: (1) A brief review of the battles already won in the woman's movement; (2) Anti-Suffrage objections; (3) Results of Woman Suffrage abroad; (4) The present position in this country.

The last part of her lecture naturally aroused the most interest. She paid a high tribute to the heroism of the hunger-strikers, mentioning Sylvia Pankhurst in particular; proved how militancy began through the brutality shown to the women, said she was herself against the policy of violence but honoured those whose sufferings had done so much for the cause. She roused laughter by speaking of Mr. McKenna, not as an Englishman, but as "something belonging to the British Isles," and enthusiasm by saying: "If you want to stop this miserable thing give the women justice." She ended with an appeal to the revolutionaries to call a truce on condition that the Government promised to bring in a measure after the General Election, and granted an immediate amnesty to all the combatants.

We are asked to announce that a verbatim report of Mrs. Besant's speech will appear in next week's issue (July 1) of the *Christian Commonwealth*.

MR. MCKENNA AND FREE SPEECH

In answer to Mr. Wedgwood, last Tuesday, Mr. McKenna said that "under no Act" but "under the ordinary exercise of common sense," it had been deemed advisable by the police to warn owners and lessees of public halls of the possible consequences if such halls were let to members of the W.S.F.U.

Where does Free Speech come in?

DEPORTATION?

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—Will you allow me, as a Mauritian who has been induced by the lure of scientific progress, among other reasons, to settle himself in London, to say a few words on the Duchess of Montrose's suggestion, made in the *Times* a few days ago, of deporting to Mauritius as undesirable criminals the militant suffragettes who have driven the present Government to their wits' end?

I do not know how much her Grace is acquainted with the history of Mauritius or the real temper of its inhabitants; but I can assure her that, sons of the French Revolution, we are, in our remoteness, and although "under the Colonial Office," a small community with high ideals and a great sense of justice and freedom. I am sure that I am voicing the opinions of the great majority of my countrymen when I say that, should they come to Mauritius, the militants would be welcomed with the respect and honour that are due to all those who are fighting in earnestness for the emancipation of humanity; but should they be deported as criminals, then we should not only resent the insult to our beautiful and proud island in making it a criminal station, but we should, no doubt, see to it that justice be done to those whom the trickery and bad faith of the Home Government have driven to militancy.—Yours, &c.,

L. BLIN DESBLED.

39, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., June 23, 1914.

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Begins MONDAY, June 29th.

OUR SALES occupy quite a unique place in public estimation—the fact is widely recognised and appreciated that we offer at Sale Prices the standard goods stocked by us all the year round, and not goods bought in for the occasion. In addition, the drastic character of the price reductions—

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K422.—Useful and Dainty BLOUSES in excellent quality crepe de chine, the turn-out collar of own material, armholes, yoke, and front also piped self; fastening front, finished with crystal buttons and Valenciennes edging. In ivory, black, and large variety of colourings. Sizes 13 to 14½. Special Sale Price 11/9

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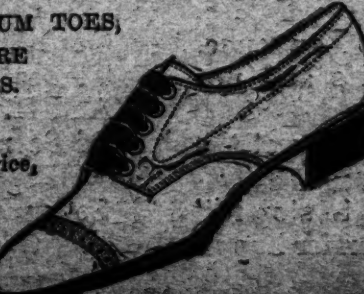
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MEDIUM TOES, SQUARE HEELS.

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Irresistible Kyalala, Blotch Soles. Well suitable for a LIGHT GOLF SHOE.

Also with Chambray Kid Top and Patent Vamps. Same Price.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,
253, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association,
116, International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
48, Dover Street, W.

East London Federation of the Suffragettes,
321, Roman Road, Bow, E.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
31, Alfred Place, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union,
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Walden, Gloucester.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Suffrage Shop,
11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance,
7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Westmoreland Chambers, Westmoreland Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association,
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

League of Justice,
22, South Molton Street, W.

Liberal Men's Suffrage Society,
31, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge, S.W.

Liberal Women's Suffrage Union,
Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge, S.W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
Duncton, Felworth, Sussex.

Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,
Temp. Address: 12, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Woman's Enfranchisement,
11, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.

Manchester Women's Franchise League,
43, Grand Parade, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,
Bank Buildings, 14, 1, James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, St. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,
6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Horse Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,
2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.

Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Baywater, W.

Suffrage Atelier,
Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club,
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

"Suffrage First" Committee,
47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

Theosophical Suffrage Society,
19, Tavistock Square, W.C.

United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies,
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

United Suffragists,
3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.

Votes for Women Fellowship,
47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Wandsworth Organizer: Miss Phyllis Lovell,
Wingate House, Alna's, Lane.

Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society,
43, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Marlborough Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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IN THE COURTS

Thursday, June 18.—At the Mansion House Police Court, charged with disorderly conduct and obstruction, Miss Isabella Scott. Remanded for mental examination.

At Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Graham Campbell, charged with obstruction, Miss Elsie Evans. Fined 20s., or seven days' imprisonment.

At Marlborough Street Police Court, before Mr. Mead, charged with wilfully obstructing P.-c. Smith, O Division, in the execution of his duty, two Suffragists who were ejected from His Majesty's Theatre. One defendant dismissed and the other fined 40s., or in default 20 days' imprisonment.

At the West London Police Court, before Mr. Fordham, charged with obstructing the highway and further summoned to show cause why she should not forfeit her recognisances in 40s. for failing to appear at the court on June 4, Mrs. Maud Brindley ordered to find a

surety in £10 to keep the peace for six months or go to prison for seven days, and on the second summons ordered to forfeit her recognisances in 40s. with 2s. costs.

Miss Elsa Dalgleish was also summoned to show cause why she should not forfeit the sum of 40s. in which she bound herself for Miss Brindley's appearance. Ordered to forfeit the 40s. and pay 2s. costs.

Monday, June 22.—At the Mansion House Police Court, before Alderman Sir Thomas Crosby, charged on remand with disorderly conduct, Miss Isabella Alexander. Ordered to find a surety in the sum of £10, or go to prison for seven days.

At the South Western Court, before Mr. Garrett, charged with disorderly conduct at a Suffragist meeting. Sydney Hill and Cecil Stone. Bound over.

Tuesday, June 23.—At Glasgow, in the High Court, before Lord Cullen, charged with attempted fire-raising on April 3, Miss Frances Gordon. One year's imprisonment.

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A SOFT BLACK SATIN WRAP, with revers and lining of white or contrasting color. Crêpe de Chine made in our own workrooms.
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ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
President: Lady Forbes-Robertson

The stall at the White City will be in full working order next week, and ready for visitors and helpers. Many thanks to the members who have responded so readily to the appeal for help.

The dinner at the Hotel Cecil promises to surpass all expectations of success. There will be thirty tables, each headed by some well-known Suffragist writer, actress, or speaker. After the dinner a reception will be held for which the tickets are 5s. each. The Russian Balaika Orchestra will play at the reception, Mr. Peter Graham will sing, and Madame Beatrice Langley will play the violin. There will then be a pageant arranged by Miss Edith Craig, in which the characters represented at the dinner will appear, as well as some of our leading actresses, who will come on from their theatres for the purpose. The evening will conclude with a buffet supper.

The next "At Home" will be at the Arts Centre on Friday, July 3. Miss Darragh will be in the chair, and the speakers will include Sir Harry Johnston, and Miss Rosika Schwimmer, the Hungarian Suffragist.

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

3, Adam Street, Strand, London, W.C.

Telephone: Regent 5150

Colours: Purple, White and Orange

Committee

Miss Lena Ashwell
Mr. Gerald Gould
Mr. Henry W. Nevinston

Mrs. H. D. Harben
Miss Evelyn Sharp
Mrs. Frederick Whelen

Mr. H. J. Gillespie
Mr. John Scurr
Mrs. Ayton Gould, Hon. Secretary
Mr. Charles Gray, Secretary

Join US (United Suffragists)

Kingway Hall Meeting. Tuesday, July 7, at 8 p.m. Speakers so far arranged: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mme. Yvette Guilbert, Mr. Henry W. Nevinston, Mr. H. D. Harben. Mrs. Julia Scurr will also speak on "The East End Deputation to Mr. Asquith." Chair: Miss Lena Ashwell. Tickets: numbered and reserved, stalls or balcony, 2s. 6d. and 1s. Unreserved, 6d. Apply Ticket Secretary, 3, Adam Street, at once.

Workers are urgently needed to advertise the meeting by poster, handbill distribution, drawing-room meetings. Offers of help must be sent in immediately.

Trafalgar Square Demonstration. Sunday, June 28, at 5 p.m. The U.S. are taking part and will speak (H. W. Nevinston, H. D. Harben, Evelyn Sharp, Mrs. Ayton Gould) from the East Plinth, facing Strand. We are also bringing a contingent to the procession, forming up at Temple Station at 4 p.m. Members, please attend!

Members' Meeting. At 3, Adam Street, every Thursday at 8.15 p.m. Speakers Thursday, June 25: Mrs. Whelen, Mr. C. Gray. July 2: Miss Evelyn Sharp and others.

Speakers' Class. Every Tuesday, same address, 8.15 p.m. Conducted by Miss Winifred Mayo. Fees: Members, 2s. 6d. for ten lessons; non-members, 3s. 6d. Single lessons, 6d.

Amersham and Chesham Bois Branch. A most successful garden meeting was held last week, combined with an original flower show, everyone bringing three flowers to compete for prizes. Seven new members made.

South London Election Campaign. Open-air meetings at 8.15 p.m.: June 25, corner of Liverpool Street and Walworth Road; Miss Hickey, Mr. Mackinlay.

June 29.—Heygate Street. Miss K. Ennis, Mr. C. Gray.

June 30.—Corner of Friar Street and Suffolk Street, Southwark. Miss Dransfield, Miss Somers.

July 2.—Corner of Liverpool Street and Walworth Road. Mr. Stephenson Squires and others.

Badges. In the colours: large 6d., small, 1s.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Lancashire Group

Miss Phyllis Lovell writes:

The open-air meeting at Ormskirk was very successful; we are holding meetings every Saturday now.

Miss Patricia Woodcock has promised to speak on Saturday week on the sands at Waterloo.

Miss Kate Riley has arranged an At Home at her house on July 16. This will be a great help.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

The present situation calls upon every one who possibly can to make some personal sacrifice. There must be many Fellows who could summon the little energy and courage required and find time to sell; while our double number offers them an excellent opportunity.

Our Camden Town pitch is working up rapidly. When boys collect and are at all rude, passers-by interfere and check them!

FOREIGN SUFFRAGISTS IN TOWN

Foreign Suffragists visiting London may be glad to know that they will always be welcomed at the headquarters of the In-

ternational Suffrage Alliance (7, Adam Street, Strand), where they may obtain all information on the movement.

WHO PAID THE FINES?

Dr. Elizabeth Knight, Hon. Treasurer of the Women's Freedom League, who, as we announced last week, was arrested on a warrant and imprisoned on June 16 for refusing to pay insurance tax for her two servants, was unaccountably released on the following day. The Women's Freedom League point out that they are convinced no private person paid the fine (£20 and costs) and they ask if the Government paid it, whether it is particularly inconvenient just now to have a medical woman in Holloway Gaol, or whether a General Election is imminent when it would be inexpedient to draw attention to the futility of the Insurance Act.

Another instance of a fine paid anonymously has occurred in the case of Miss Gertrude Eaton who wishes it to be made known that through her illness her taxes were paid without her consent or knowledge.

TRAFALGAR SQUARE DEMONSTRATION

The demonstration under the auspices of the Forward Cymric Suffrage Union, to be held next Sunday at 5 p.m. in Trafalgar Square, has now been extended to include other Suffrage Societies, many of whom will take part in it. The Welsh speakers will occupy the north side of the plinth, the east and west sides being given up to speakers from other Societies. There will be two processions with bands and banners, the East End one forming up at Bow Bridge at 2.30, and the West End contingent forming up at Temple Station at 4 p.m. Welsh women in national costume will be present, and among the speakers are Mrs. Mansell-Moulton, the Rev. Drew Roberts, Mrs. Hughes, Miss Winson of Philadelphia, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mrs. Ayton Gould, Mr. Henry W. Nevinston.

PAGEANT OF FAMOUS MEN AND WOMEN

An additional interest will be given to the entertainment and Pageant following the Costume Dinner at the Hotel Cecil next Monday by the presence of the Balaika Orchestra, conducted by H.H. Prince Tschakadseff. This is the famous amateur orchestra, known for its performance with Russian instruments of old Russian folk songs and dances, and as it rarely performs in public this should be another reason for those who have not yet done so to get their tickets at once either from the Actresses' Franchise League or the Women Writers' Suffrage League. (Price 10s. 6d. for the Dinner and Pageant; 5s. for the Pageant and Entertainment alone.)

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—"The question is not whether their spirit deserves blame or praise, but what in the name of God shall we do with it?"

It is a misfortune that we have no Burke alive to-day to suggest a solution other than more repression for those who, by Mr. McKenna's own admission, are "showing a courage which stands at nothing," and who are prepared to die for what they believe to be "the greatest cause in the world."

The New Constitutional Society notes that among the suggestions which have been put forward for dealing with the present situation no account has been taken of the simple solution that men should treat the question of Women Suffrage with the same degree of seriousness with which they treat Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, Plural Voting, and Free Trade. Had men, professedly suffragists, and who form, we are assured on the best authority, three-quarters of the Liberal Party and two-thirds of the Cabinet, fulfilled their pledges, insisted upon fair play for women, defended them when they were tricked and betrayed, and, in fact, treated the cause of voteless women in the same manner as they treat causes of voteless men there would obviously have been no militancy, and the present disastrous situation never could have arisen. To judge by the remarks in the House of Commons and the Press, men have apparently forgotten the existence of constitutional suffragists, to whom they are pledged. They deliberately ignore the fact that more than one million women have petitioned for the vote, and that the demand has been repeated by practically every organised body of women workers throughout the country.

Constitutional suffragists are not in any degree less indignant than militant women at the manner in which their just claims have been set aside. They deplore militancy, with which they have no concern, but they demand that an intolerable situation shall at once be put an end to, not by more coercion, leaving the constitutional grievance unredressed, but by the fourth alternative suggested by Mr. McKenna, the only statesmanlike and civilised solution, namely, the granting of the vote to women.

(Signed) ADRIANE M. CHAPMAN (President), BEATRICE HARTLEY (Hon. Treasurer), JEAN FORTY (Hon. Sec.), ALEXANDRA M. WRIGHT (Hon. Organiser).
New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

INSURANCE FOR WOMEN

Our readers will be interested to see the announcement in another column that an All Sickness and Accident Policy for Professional and Business Women is to be issued by Mrs. Shelley Gulick. Hitherto the companies have fought shy of issuing a policy on this comprehensive scale, on the grounds that the claims arising from women would be so many that they would swamp the premiums.

This new policy will no doubt meet a want which has long been felt by women, and as it has the well-known house of Lloyds behind it, full reliance may be placed upon the benefits promised under it.

GEM JEWELLERY

The Gem Jewellery of The Goldsmiths & Silversmiths Company, Ltd., of 112, Regent Street, London, W., combines delicacy of design with durability of workmanship.

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Suits, Coats, etc., 2 Gas.

Wool, Cloth, etc., 2 Gas.

Wool, Cloth, etc., 2 Gas.

Wool, Cloth, etc., 2 Gas.

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COMING EVENTS**"Votes for Women" Fellowship
Lancashire Centre**

Organiser: Miss Phyllis Lovell, Wingate House, Ainsdale, Lancashire.

There will be a meeting at the Haymarket, Birkenhead, on Saturday, June 27, at 8 p.m. Speaker: Miss Patricia Woodcock.

The Cycle Corps will leave Southport for Formby on Saturday, June 27. Members will meet by the Town Hall steps (Southport), promptly at 3.30 p.m.

The Cycle Corps will leave Southport for Formby on Saturday, July 4. Same arrangement as preceding week.

Other Meetings

The London Society (N.U.W.S.S.) will hold a Public Reception (last of present series) at the Westminster Palace Hotel on June 26, from 3.30 to 6. Chair: Miss Coo. Speakers: Miss Courtney and others.

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union will hold a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, June 28, in which several other Suffrage societies will take part. A procession, with bands and banners, will form up at Bow Bridge at 2.30, starting at 3 p.m.; and another will form up at Temple Station at 4 p.m.

The New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage will hold a public meeting at the N. C. Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge, on June 30, at 3 p.m. Speakers: Mr. Roland Philipps on "Women's Rights and Wrongs"; Miss McGowan, and Mrs. Cecil Chapman.

The Women's Freedom League will hold the last of their series of meetings at the Caxton Hall on Wednesday, July 1, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Madame Rosika Schwimmer on "What Finnish Women Do for their Country," and Sister Henrietta Arendt (first policewoman in Europe). Chair: Miss A. A. Smith. The meetings will be resumed early in October.

Under the auspices of the Church League for Woman Suffrage Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and the Rev. G. Herbert Davis will speak at a meeting in the St. John's Hall, Mortimer, on Thursday, July 2, at 3.30 p.m. Chair: The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield. Admission free.

The United Suffragists will hold a Public Meeting at the Kingsway Hall, on Tuesday, July 7, at 8 p.m. Chair: Miss Lena Ashwell. Speakers: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mme. Yvette Guilbert, Miss Constance Collier, Mr. Harben, and others.

The Marchers' "Qui Vive."—The Corps hopes to complete a 1,000 miles for Woman Suffrage this summer, when Mrs. De Fonblanque will lead another march from Bournemouth (August 17) to Haversham (August 28).

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NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

HIGHER THOUGHT CENTRE, 40, Courtfield Gardens, Cromwell Road, S.W.—11.30, 7. Doré Gallery, 35, New Bond Street, W., 11.15.

ST. MARY-AT-HILL.—Church Army Church, Eastcheap. Sundays, 9 and 8. Views, orchestra, band. Prebendary Carlile.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.).—Public Reception (last of present series), Westminster Palace Hotel, June 26, 3.30-6. Miss Eve (chair), Miss Courtney (Hon. Sec. N.U.W.S.S.), and others.

FORWARD CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION.—Great Demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, June 28, 5 p.m., to demand a Government Measure for Women's Suffrage and to protest against the present coercion and injustice. Procession, with bands and banners, in which many other societies will join, will form up at Bow Bridge at 2.30, start at 3. West End contingent will form up at Temple Station at 4, and join East End procession in the Strand. Come in your tens of thousands to support us.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—Tuesday, June 30, at 3 p.m., New Constitutional Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. "Women's Rights and Wrongs." Mr. Roland Phillips, Miss McGowan, and Mrs. Cecil Chapman.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE will hold the last of their series of Meetings at Caxton Hall on Wednesday, July 1. Speakers: Frau Rosika Schwimmer, "What Finnish Women do for their Country"; Sister Henrietta Arendt (first policewoman in Europe), "International Traffic in Children." The Chair will be taken at 3.30 by Miss A. A. Smith. The meetings will be continued in October.

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WANTED, an Organiser for the Chester Branch of the Women's Freedom League. Preference given to lady with experience in organising and speaking. Cyclist preferred. Full particulars, salary required, and photograph if possible, to Hon. Sec., The Suffrage Shop, St. Werburgh Street, Chester.

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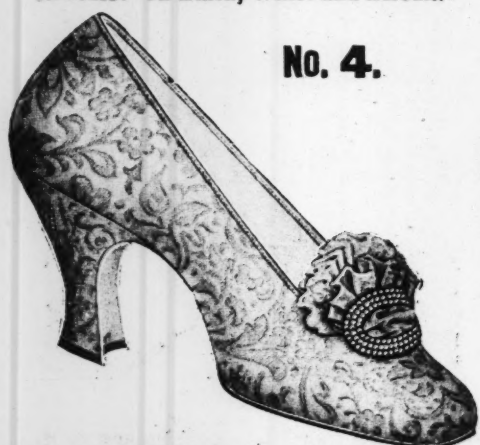


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